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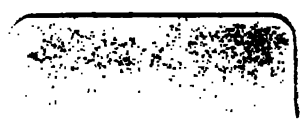

THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

THIRD EDITION OF THE COLLECTED WORKS.

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES.

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WHOLE WORKS

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RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE.

VOLUME VII.

CONTAINING

EPISCOPACY ASSERTED; AN APOLOGY FOR AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS OF LITURGY; AND A DISCOURSE ON THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING.

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GENERAL DEDICATION

TO THE

POLEMICAL DISCOURSES.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

AND TRULY NOBLE

CHRISTOPHER LORD HATTON,

BARON HATTON OF KIRBY,

PRIVY COUNSELLOR AND COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD TO HIS LATE MAJESTY,
AND KNIGHT OF THE HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

MY LORD,

WHEN we make books and publish them, and by dedications implore the patronage of some worthy person, I find by experience that we cannot acquire that end, which is pretended to by such addresses; for neither friendship nor power, interest or favour, can give those defences to a book, which it needs: because the evil fortune of books comes from causes discernible indeed, but irremediable; and the breath

of the people is like the voice of an exterminating angel, not so killing but so secret. But that is not all; it is also as contingent as the smiles of an infant, or the fall of a die, which is determined by every part of motion, which can be in any part of the hand or arm. For when I consider that the infinite variety of understandings is greater than that of faces, not only because the lines that make our faces are infinite, but the things that integrate and actuate the understanding, are not; but also because every man hath a face, but every man hath not understanding; and men with their understandings, or with their no understandings, give their sentence upon books, not only before they understand all, not only before they read all, but before they read three pages, receiving their information from humour or interest, from chance or mistake, from him that reads in malice, or from him that reads after dinner;—I find it necessary that he that writes, should secure himself, and his own reputation, by all the ways of prudence and religion; that God, who takes care of fame as certainly as of lives, may do that which is best in this instance; for no other patron can defend him that writes from him that reads, and understands either too much or too little. And, therefore, my Lord, I could not choose you to be the patron of my book, upon

hopes you can, by greatness or interest, secure it against the stings of insects and imperfect creatures; nothing but Domitian's style can make them harmless; but I can, from your wisdom and your learning, the great reputation you have abroad, and the honour you have at home, hope that, for the relation sake, some will be civil to it, at least until they read it, and then I give them leave to do what they please, for I am secure enough in all this; because my writings are not intended as a stratagem for noises; I intend to do not only what is good, but what is best; and therefore I am not troubled at any event, so I may but justly hope that God is glorified in the ministration: but he that seeks any thing but God's service, shall have such a reward as will do him no good.

But finding nothing reasonable in the expectation that the dedication should defend the book, and that the gate should be a fortification to the house, I have sometimes believed that most men intend it to other purposes than this and that, because they design or hope to themselves (at least at second hand) an artificial immortality, they would also adopt their patron or their friend into a participation of it; doing as the Cæsars did, who, taking a partner to the empire, did not divide the honour or the power, but the ministration. But in this

also I find, that this address to your Lordship must be destitute of any material event, not only because you have secured to yourself a great name in all the registers of honour, by your skill and love to all things that are excellent, but because, of all men in the world, I am the unfittest to speak those great things of your Lordship, which your worthiness must challenge of all that know you. For, though I was wooed to love and honour you by the beauties of your virtue, and the sweetness of your disposition, by your worthy employments at court, and your being so beloved in your country, by the value your friends put upon you, and the regard that strangers paid to you, by your zeal for the Church, and your busy care in the promoting all worthy learnings, by your religion and your nobleness; yet when I once came into a conversation with these excellences, I found from your Lordship not only the example of so many virtues, but the expressions of so many favours and kindnesses to my person, that I became too much interested to look upon you with indifference, and too much convinced of your worthiness to speak of it temperately; and therefore I resolve to keep where I am, and to love and enjoy what I am so unfit to publish and express.

But, my Lord, give me leave to account to you

concerning the present collection; and I shall no otherwise trouble your Lordship than I do almost every day, when my good fortune allows me the comfort and advantages of your conversation. The former impressions of these books being spent, and the world being willing enough to receive more of them, it was thought fit to draw into one volume* all these lesser books, which at several times were made public, and which, by some collateral improvements they were to receive now from me, might do some more advantages to one another, and better struggle with such prejudices, with which any of them hath been at any time troubled. For, though I have great reason to adore the goodness of God, in giving that success to my labours, that I am also obliged to the kindness of men for their friendly acceptance of them; yet when a persecution did arise against the Church of England, and that I intended to make a defensative for my brethren and myself, by pleading for a liberty to our consciences to persevere in that profession, which was warranted by all the laws of God and our superiors, some men were angry, and would not be safe that way, because I had made the roof of the sanctuary so wide that more might be shel-

* This, and some other expressions in this Dedication, refer to the folio edition.—Ed.

tered under it than they had a mind should be saved harmless: men would be safe alone, or not at all, supposing that their truth and good cause was warranty enough to preserve itself; and they thought true; it was indeed warranty enough against persecution, if men had believed it to be truth; but because we were fallen under the power of our worst enemies (for brethren turned enemies are ever the most implacable), they looked upon us as men in mispersuasion and error; and, therefore, I was to defend our persons, that whether our cause were right or wrong (for it would be supposed wrong), yet we might be permitted in liberty and impunity. But then the consequent would be this: that if we, when we were supposed to be in error, were yet to be indemnified, then others also, whom we thought as ill of, were to rejoice in the same freedom, because this equality is the great instrument of justice: and if we would not do to others as we desired should be done to us, we were no more to pretend religion, because we destroy the law and the prophets. Of this some men were impatient; and they would have all the world spare them, and yet they would spare nobody. But because this is too unreasonable, I need no excuse for my speaking to other purposes. Others complained that it would have evil effects, and all

heresies would enter at the gate of toleration: and because I knew that they would crowd and throng in as far as they could, I placed such guards and restraints there as might keep out all unreasonable pretenders; allowing none to enter here that speak against the apostles' creed, or weakened the hands of government, or were enemies to good life.

But the most complained, that, in my ways to persuade a toleration, I helped some men too far, and that I armed the anabaptists with swords instead of shields, with a power to offend us, besides the proper defensatives of their own. To this I shall need no reply but this: I was to say what I could to make their persons safe, by shewing how probably they were deceived; and they who thought it too much, had either too little confidence, or too little knowledge of the goodness of their own cause; and yet, if any one made ill use of it, it was more than I allowed or intended to him; but so all kindness may be abused. But if a criminal be allowed counsel, he would be scorned if he should avow his advocate as a real patron of his crime, when he only says what he can to alleviate the sentence. But wise men understand the thing, and are satisfied. But because all men are not of equal strength, I did not only, in a discourse on purpose, demonstrate the true doctrine in that question, but

I have now, in this edition of that book, answered all their pretensions, not only fearing lest some be hurt with their offensive arms, but lest others, like Tarpeia, the Roman lady, be oppressed with shields, and be brought to think well of their cause by my pleading for their persons.

And now, my Lord, I have done all that I can do, or can be desired, only I cannot repent me of speaking truth, or doing charity; but when the loins of the presbytery did lie heavy upon us, and were like to crush us into flatness and death, I ought not to have been reproached for standing under the ruin, and endeavouring to defend my brethren; and if I had strained his arm, whom I was lifting up from drowning, he should have deplored his own necessity, and not have reproved my charity, if I say I had been too zealous to preserve them, whom I ought to love so zealously.

But I have been told, that my discourse of Episcopacy, relying so much upon the authority of fathers and councils, whose authority I so much diminish in my "Liberty of Prophesying," I seem to pull down with one hand what I build with the other: to these men I am used to answer, that they ought not to wonder to see a man pull down his out-houses, to save his father and his children from the flames; and, therefore, if I had wholly destroyed

the topic of ecclesiastical antiquity, which is but an outward guard to episcopacy, to preserve the whole ecclesiastical order, I might have been too zealous, but in no other account culpable; but, my Lord, I have done nothing of this, as they mistake.

For episcopacy relies, not upon the authority of fathers and councils, but upon Scripture, upon the institution of Christ, or the institution of the apostles, upon a universal tradition, and a universal practice, not upon the words and opinions of the doctors: it hath as great a testimony as Scripture itself hath: and it is such a government, as although every thing in antiquity does minister to it, and illustrate or confirm it; yet, since it was before the fathers and councils, and was in full power before they had a being, and they were made up of bishops for the most part, they can give no authority to themselves, as a body does not beget itself, or give strength to that from whence themselves had warranty, integrity, and constitution. We bring the sayings of the fathers in behalf of episcopacy, because the reputation they have justly purchased from posterity, prevails with some, and their reason with others, and their practice with very many; and the pretensions of the adversaries are too weak to withstand that strength; but that episcopacy derives from a higher fountain, appears, by the

justifications of it, against them who value not what the fathers say. But now, he that says that episcopacy, besides all its own proper grounds, hath also the witness of antiquity, to have descended from Christ and his apostles; and he that says that, in questions of religion, the sayings of the fathers alone is no demonstration of faith, does not speak things contradictory. He that says that we may dissent from the fathers, when we have a reason greater than that authority, does no way oppose him that says you ought not to dissent from what they say, when you have no reason great enough to outweigh it. He that says the words of the fathers are not sufficient to determine a nice question, stands not against him who says they are excellent corroboratives in a question already determined and practised accordingly. He that says the sayings of fathers are no demonstration in a question, may say true; and yet he that says it is a degree of probability, may say true too. He that says they are not our masters, speaks consonantly to the words of Christ; but he that denies them to be good instructors, does not speak agreeably to reason or to the sense of the Church. Sometimes they are excellent arbitrators, but not always good judges: in matters of fact they are excellent witnesses; in matters of right or question they are rare doctors,

and because they bring good arguments, are to be valued accordingly; and he that considers these things, will find that ecclesiastical antiquity can give very great assistances to episcopal government, and yet be no warranty for tyrannical; and although even the sayings of the fathers is greater warranty for episcopacy, and weighs more than all that can be said against it; yet, from thence nothing can be drawn to warrant to any man an empire over consciences; and, therefore, as the probability of it can be used to one effect, so the fallibility of it is also of use to another; but yet even of this no man is to make any use in general, but when he hath a necessity and a greater reason in the particular; and I, therefore, have joined these two books in one volume, because they differ not at all in the design, nor in the real purposes, to which, by their variety, they minister.

I will not pretend to any special reason of the inserting any of the other books into this volume; it is the design of my bookseller to bring all that he can into a like volume; excepting only some books of devotion, which, in a lesser volume, are more fit for use. As for the "Doctrine and Practice of Repentance," which, because I suppose it may so much contribute to the interest of a good life, and is of so great and so necessary consideration to every

person that desires to be instructed in the way of godliness, and would assure his salvation by all means; I was willing to publish it first in the lesser volume, that men might not, by the increasing price of a larger, be hindered from doing themselves the greatest good to which I can minister; which I humbly suppose to be done, I am sure I intended to have done, in that book.

And now, my Lord, I humbly desire, that although the presenting this volume to your Lordship can neither promote that honour which is and ought to be the greatest, and is, by the advantages of your worthiness, already made public, nor obtain to itself any security or defence from any injury, to which, without remedy, it must be exposed; yet, if you please to expound it as a testimony of that great value I have for you, though this signification is too little for it, yet I shall be at ease awhile, till I can converse with your Lordship, by something more proportionable to those greatest regards which you have merited of mankind, but more especially of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

TO

THE TRULY WORTHY,

AND MOST ACCOMPLISHED

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON,

KNIGHT OF THE HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

SIR,

I AM engaged in the defence of a great truth, and I would willingly find a shroud to cover myself from danger and calumny; and although the cause both is, and ought to be, defended by kings, yet my person must not go thither to sanctuary, unless it be to pay my devotion, and I have now no other left for my defence; I am robbed of that which once did bless me, and indeed still does (but in another manner), and I hope will do more; but those distillations of celestial dews are conveyed in channels not pervious to an eye of sense, and nowadays we seldom look with other, be the object never so beauteous or alluring. You may then think, Sir, I am forced upon you; may that beg my pardon and excuse; but I should do an injury to your nobleness, if I should only make you a refuge for

my need (pardon this truth); you are also of the fairest choice, not only for your love of learning, (for although that be eminent in you, yet it is not your eminence,) but for your duty to holy Church, for your loyalty to his sacred majesty. These did prompt me, with the greatest confidence, to hope for your fair encouragement and assistance, in my pleadings for episcopacy, in which cause religion and majesty, the king and the Church, are interested, as parties of mutual concernment.

There was an odd observation made long ago, and registered in the law, to make it authentic: "Laici sunt infensi clericis." Now the clergy pray, but fight not; and, therefore, if not specially protected by the king, "contra ecclesiam malignantium," they are made obnoxious to all the contumelies and injuries, which an envious multitude will inflict upon them. It was observed enough in King Edgar's time, "Quamvis decreta pontificum, et verba sacerdotum inconvulsis ligaminibus velut fundamenta montium fixa sunt, tamen plerumque tempestatibus, et turbinibus sæcularium rerum religio S. Matris Ecclesiæ maculis reproborum dissipatur, ac rumpitur. Idcirco decrevimus nos, &c."[a] There was a sad example of it in King John's time. For when he threw the clergy from his protection,

[a] In Charta Edgar. Regis, A.D. 485.—*Hen. Spelman.*

it is incredible what injuries, what affronts, what robberies, yea, what murders, were committed upon the bishops and priests of holy Church; whom neither the sacredness of their persons, nor the laws of God, nor the terrors of conscience, nor fears of hell, nor church-censures, nor the laws of hospitality, could protect from scorn, from blows, from slaughter. Now, there being so near a tie as the necessity of their own preservation, in the midst of so apparent danger, it will tie the bishops' hearts and hands to the king, faster than all the ties of law-allegiance (all the political ties, I mean); all that are not precisely religious, and obligations in the court of conscience.

2. But the interest of the bishops is conjunct with the prosperity of the king, besides the interest of their own security; by the obligation of secular advantages. For they who have their livelihood from the king, and are in expectance of their fortune from him, are more likely to pay a tribute of exacter duty, than others whose fortunes are not in such immediate dependence on his majesty. Æneas Sylvius once gave a merry reason, why clerks advanced the pope above a council; viz. because the pope gave spiritual promotions, but the councils gave none. It is but the common expectation of gratitude, that a patron paramount shall be more assisted by his

beneficiaries in cases of necessity, than by those who receive nothing from him but the common influences of government.

3. But the bishops' duty to the king derives itself from a higher fountain. For it is one of the main excellences in Christianity, that it advances the state and well-being of monarchies and bodies politic. Now, then, the fathers of religion, the reverend bishops, whose peculiar office it is to promote the interests of Christianity, are, by the nature and essential requisites of their office, bound to promote the honour and dignity of kings, whom Christianity would have so much honoured, as to establish the just subordination of people to their prince, upon better principles than ever; no less than their precise duty to God, and the hopes of a blissful immortality. Here, then, is "utile, honestum," and "necessarium," to tie bishops in duty to kings; and a threefold cord is not easily broken.

In pursuance of these obligations, episcopacy pays three returns of tribute to monarchy.

1. The first is the duty of their people. For they being, by God himself, set over souls, judges of the most secret recesses of our consciences, and the venerable priests under them, have more power to keep men in their duteous subordination to the prince, than there is in any secular power; by how

much more forcible the impressions of the conscience are, than all the external violence in the world. And this power they have fairly put into act; for there was never any protestant bishop yet in rebellion, unless he returned recreant to his order; and it is the honour of the Church of England, that all her children and obedient people are full of indignation against rebels, be they of any interest or party whatsoever. For here (and for it we thank God and good princes) episcopacy hath been preserved in fair privileges and honour; and God hath blessed and honoured episcopacy, with the conjunction of a loyal people. As if because, in the law of nature, the kingdom and priesthood were joined in one person, it were natural and consonant to the first justice, that kings should defend the rights of the Church, and the Church advance the honour of kings. And when I consider that the first bishop that was exauctorated, was a prince too, prince and bishop of Geneva; methinks it was an ill omen, that the cause of the prince and the bishop should be in conjunction ever after.

2. A second return that episcopacy makes to royalty is that which is the duty of all Christians, the paying tributes and impositions. And though all the king's liege people do it, yet the issues of their duty and liberality are mightily dispropor-

tionate, if we consider their unequal number and revenues. And if clergy-subsidies be estimated according to the smallness of their revenue and paucity of persons, it will not be half so short of the number and weight of crowns from lay-dispensation, as it does far exceed in the proportion of the donative.

3. But the assistance that the kings of England had in their counsels and affairs of greatest difficulty, from the great ability of bishops, and other the ministers of the Church, I desire to represent, in the words of King Alfred to Walfsigeus, the bishop, in an epistle, where he deplores the misery of his own age, by comparing it with the former times, when the bishops were learned, and exercised in public councils: "Felicia tum tempora fuerunt inter omnes Angliæ populos; reges Deo, et scriptæ ejus voluntati obsecundârunt in suâ pace, et bellicis expeditionibus, atque regimine domestico domi se semper tutati fuerint, atque etiam foris nobilitatem suam dilataverint." The reason was, as he insinuates before, "Sapientes exstiterunt in Anglica gente de spirituali gradu," &c. The bishops were able, by their great learning and wisdom, to give assistance to the king's affairs. And they have prospered in it; for the most glorious issues of Divine benison upon this kingdom were conveyed to us by bishops'

hands; I mean the union of the houses of York and Lancaster, by the counsels of Bishop Morton,[b] and of England and Scotland, by the treaty of Bishop Fox;[c] to which if we add two other, "in materia religionis," I mean the conversion of the kingdom from paganism, by St. Augustin, archbishop of Canterbury; and the reformation, begun and promoted by bishops; I think we cannot call to mind four blessings equal to these in any age or kingdom, in all which God was pleased, by the mediation of bishops, as he useth to do, to bless the people. And this may not only be expected in reason, but in good divinity; for amongst the gifts of the Spirit, which God hath given to his Church, are reckoned doctors, teachers, and helps in government.[d] To which may be added this advantage, that the services of churchmen are rewardable upon the Church's stock: no need to disimprove the royal banks, to pay thanks to bishops.

But, Sir, I grow troublesome. Let this discourse have what ends it can; the use I make of it is but to pretend reason for my boldness, and to entitle you to my book: for I am confident you will own any thing that is but a friend's friend to a cause of loyalty. I have nothing else to plead for

[b] John Speed's Hist. lib. ix. c. 19. n. 23. p. 716.
[c] Ib. c. 20. n. 64. p. 747. [d] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

your acceptance, but the confidence of your goodness, and that I am a person capable of your pardon, and of a fair interpretation of my address to you, by being,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

OF THE

SACRED ORDER AND OFFICES

OF

EPISCOPACY,

BY

DIVINE INSTITUTION, APOSTOLICAL TRADITION, AND CATHOLIC PRACTICE.

OF THE

SACRED ORDER AND OFFICES

OF

EPISCOPACY.

In all those accursed machinations, which the device and artifice of hell hath invented for the supplanting of the Church, "inimicus homo," that old superseminator of heresies and crude mischiefs, hath endeavoured to be curiously compendious, and, with Tarquin's device, "putare summa papaverum." And, therefore, in the three ages of martyrs, it was a ruled case in that Burgundian forge, "Qui prior erat dignitate, prior trahebatur ad martyrium." The priests, but to be sure the bishops, must pay for all, "Tolle impios, Polycarpus requiratur." Away with these peddling persecutions; ἀξίνην πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν·—"lay the axe at the root of the tree." Insomuch that in Rome, from St. Peter and St. Paul to St. Sylvester, thirty-three bishops of Rome, in immediate succession, suffered an honourable and glorious martyrdom, unless Meltiades[a] be perhaps excepted, whom Eusebius and Optatus report to have lived all the time of the third consulship of Constantine and Lucinius. "Conteret caput ejus," was the glorious promise, Christ should "break the devil's head;" and though the devil's active part of the duel was far less, yet he would venture at that too, even to strike at the heads of the Church, "capita vicaria," for "the head of all" was past his striking now; and this, I say, he offered to do by martyrdom, but that, instead of breaking, crowned them.

His next onset was by Julian, and "occidere presbyterium," that was his province. To shut up public schools, to force Christians to ignorance, to impoverish and disgrace the

[a] "Maximini jussu martyrio coronatur," saith Platina; but that is wholly uncertain.

clergy, to make them vile and dishonourable, these are his arts; and he did the devil more service in this fineness of undermining, than all the open battery of the ten great rams of persecution. But this would not take. For, "that which is without, cannot defile a man." So it is in the Church too. "Cedunt in bonum" all violences "ab extra."

But, therefore, besides these, he attempted, by heresies, to rend the Church's bowels all in pieces; but the good bishops gathered up the scattered pieces, and reunited them at Nice, at Constantinople, at Ephesus, at Chalcedon, at Carthage, at Rome, and in every famous place of Christendom; and, by God's goodness, and the bishop's industry, catholic religion was conserved in unity and integrity. Well; however it is, antichrist must come at last, and the great apostasy foretold must be, and this not without means proportionable to the production of so great declensions of Christianity. "When ye hear of wars, and rumours of wars, be not afraid," said our blessed Saviour, "the end is not yet." It is not war that will do 'this great work of destruction,' for then it might have been done long ere now. What then will do it? We shall know when we see it. In the meantime, when we shall find a new device, of which indeed the platform was laid, in Aerius and the Acephali, brought to a good possibility of completing a thing, that whosoever shall hear, his ears shall tingle, 'an abomination of desolation' standing where it ought not, 'in sacris,' in holy persons, and places, and offices,—it is too probable that this is the preparatory for the antichrist, and grand apostasy.

For if antichrist shall exalt himself above all that is called God, and in Scripture none but kings and priests are such, "dii vocati, dii facti," I think we have great reason to be suspicious, that he that divests both of their power (and they are, if the king be Christian, in very near conjunction), does the work of antichrist for him; especially if the men, whom it most concerns, will but call to mind, that the discipline or government which Christ hath instituted, is that kingdom by which he governs all Christendom (so themselves have taught us); so that, in case it be proved that episcopacy is that government, then they (to use their own expressions) throw Christ out of his kingdom; and then, either they leave the Church without a head, or else put antichrist in substitution.

We all wish, that our fears in this and all things else may be vain, that what we fear may not come upon us; but yet that the abolition of episcopacy is the forerunner, and preparatory to the great apostasy, I have these reasons to shew at least the probability. First: because here is a concourse of times; for now, after that these times have been called the last times for 1600 years together, our expectation of the great revelation is very near accomplishing; and what a grand innovation of ecclesiastical government, contrary to the faith and practice of Christendom, may portend now in these times, when we all expect antichrist to be revealed, is worthy of a jealous man's inquiry. Secondly: episcopacy, if we consider the final cause, was instituted as an obstructive to the diffusion of schism and heresy. So St. Jerome,[b] "In toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur." And, therefore, if unity and division be destructive of each other, then episcopacy is the best deletery in the world for schism: and so much the rather because they are "in eâdem materiâ:" for schism is a division for things either personal or accidental, which are matters most properly the subject of government, and there to be tried, there to receive their first and last breath, except where they are starved to death by a desuetude; and episcopacy is a unity of person-governing, and ordering persons and things, accidental and substantial: and, therefore, a direct confronting of schism, not only in the intention of the author of it, but in the nature of the institution. Now then, although schisms always will be, and this by Divine prediction (which clearly shews the necessity of perpetual episcopacy, and the intention of its perpetuity, either by Christ himself ordaining it, who made the prophecy, or by the apostles and apostolic men at least, who knew the prophecy): yet, to be sure, these divisions and dangers shall be greater about, and at the time of the great apostasy; for then, were not the hours turned into minutes, and universal ruin should seize all Christendom: "No flesh should be saved, if those days were not shortened." Is it not next to an evidence of fact, that this multiplication of schisms must be 'removendo prohibens?' and, therefore, that must be by

[b] In i. ad Titum.

invalidating episcopacy, ordained as the remedy and obex of schism, either tying their hands behind them, by taking away their coercion, or by putting out their eyes, by denying them cognizance of causes spiritual, or by cutting off their heads, and so destroying their order. How far these will lead us, I leave to be considered. This only: "Percute pastores, atque oves dispergentur;" and I believe it will be verified at the coming of that wicked one; "I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep having no shepherd."

I am not new in this conception, I learned it of St. Cyprian: "Christi adversarius, et ecclesiæ ejus inimicus ad hoc, ecclesiæ præpositum suâ infestatione persequitur, ut, gubernatore sublato, atrocius, atque violentius circa ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur;[c]—The adversary of Christ, and enemy of his spouse, therefore persecutes the bishop, that having taken him away, he may, without check, pride himself in the ruins of the Church." And a little after, speaking of them that are enemies to bishops, he says, that "Antichristi jam propinquantis adventum imitantur;—Their deportment is just after the guise of antichrist, who is shortly to be revealed."

But be this conjecture vain or not, the thing of itself is of deep consideration; and the catholic practice of Christendom for 1500 years is so insupportable a prejudice against the enemies of episcopacy, that they must bring admirable evidence of Scripture, or a clear revelation proved by miracles, or a contrary undoubted tradition apostolical for themselves, or else hope for no belief against the prescribed possession of so many ages.

But before I begin, methinks in this contestation, 'ubi potior est conditio possidentis,' it is a considerable question; What will the adversaries stake against it? For if episcopacy cannot make its title good, they lose the benefit of their prescribed possession. If it can; I fear they will scarce again so much as the obedience of the adverse party by it, which yet already is their due. It is very unequal; but so it is ever, when authority is the matter of the question. Authority never gains by it; for although the cause go on its side, yet it loses costs and damages: for it must either, by fair condescension to gain the adversaries, lose something of itself, or,

[c] Epist. 55.

if it asserts itself to the utmost, it is but that seldom or never happens; for the very questioning of any authority, *hoc ipso*, makes a great entrenchment even to the very skirts of its clothing.

But 'huc deventum est.' Now we are in, we must go over.

SECTION I.

Christ did Institute a Government in his Church.

First, then, that we may build upon a rock. Christ did institute a government to order and rule his Church by his authority, according to his laws, and by the assistance of the blessed Spirit.

1. If this were not true, how shall the Church be governed? For I hope the adversaries of episcopacy, that are so punctual to pitch all upon Scripture ground, will be sure to produce clear Scripture for so main a part of Christianity, as is the form of the government of Christ's Church. And if for our private actions, and duties economical, they will pretend a text, I suppose it will not be thought possible Scripture should make default in assignation of the public government, insomuch as all laws intend the public, and the general directly; the private, and the particular, by consequence only and comprehension within the general.

2. If Christ himself did not take order for a government, then we must derive it from human prudence, and emergency of conveniencies, and concourse of new circumstances, and then the government must often be changed, or else time must stand still, and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequents are extremely full of inconvenience. For if it be left to human prudence, then either the government of the Church is not in immediate order to the good and benison of souls, or, if it be, that such an institution, in such immediate order to eternity, should be dependent upon human prudence, it were to trust such a rich commodity in a cock-boat, that no wise pilot will be supposed to do. But if there be often changes in government ecclesiastical (which was the other consequent), in the public

frame I mean, and constitution of it; either the certain infinity of schisms will arise, or the dangerous issues of public inconsistency and innovation, which, in matters of religion, is good for nothing, but to make men distrust all; and, come the best that can come, there will be so many church-governments as there are human prudencies. For so (if I be not misinformed)[a] it is abroad in some towns that have discharged episcopacy. As St. Galles, in Switzerland; there the ministers and laymen rule in common, but a layman is president. But the consistories of Zurick and Basil are wholly consistent of laymen, and ministers are joined as assistants only, and counsellors; but at Schaffhausen the ministers are not admitted to so much, but in the Huguenot churches of France the ministers do all.

3. In such cases, where there is no power of the sword for a compulsory (and confessedly of all sides there can be none in causes and courts ecclesiastical), if there be no opinion of religion, no derivation from a Divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience, and indeed nothing but a certain public, calamitous irregularity. For why should they obey? Not for conscience, for there is no derivation from Divine authority; not for fear, for they have not the power of the sword.

4. If there be such a thing as the power of the keys, by Christ concredited to his Church, for the binding and loosing delinquents and penitents respectively on earth, then there is clearly a court erected by Christ in his Church; for here is the delegation of judges, "Tu Petrus, vos Apostoli:" whatsoever ye shall bind; here is a compulsory, "ligaveritis:" here are the causes of which they take cognizance, "quodcunque;" viz. "in materiâ scandali." For so it is limited, Matt. xviii., but it is indefinite, Matt. xvi., and universal, John xx., which yet is to be understood, "secundum materiam subjectam," in causes which are emergent from Christianity, "ut sic," that secular jurisdictions may not be entrenched upon. But of this hereafter. That Christ did in this place erect a jurisdiction, and establish a government (besides the evidence of fact), is generally asserted by primitive exposition of the fathers, affirming, that to St. Peter the keys were

[a] Simler. de Rep. Helvet. fol. 148 et 172.

given, that to the Church of all ages a power of binding and loosing might be communicated. "Has igitur claves dedit ecclesiæ, ut quæ solveret in terrâ, soluta essent in cœlo; scil. ut quisquis in ecclesia ejus dimitti sibi peccata crederet, seque ab iis correctus averteret, in ejusdem ecclesiæ gremio constitutus eâdem fide atque correctione sanaretur." So St. Austin.[b] And again, "Omnibus igitur sanctis ad Christi corpus inseparabiliter pertinentibus, propter hujus vitæ procellosissimæ gubernaculum, ad liganda et solvenda peccata claves regni cœlorum primus apostolorum Petrus accepit; quoniam nec ille solus, sed universa ecclesia ligat, solvitque peccata:" "St. Peter first received the government in the power of binding and loosing: but not he alone, but all the Church," to wit, all succession and ages of the Church. "Universa ecclesia," viz. "in pastoribus solis," as St. Chrysostom;[c] "In episcopis et presbyteris," as St. Jerome:[d] the whole Church, as it is represented 'in the bishops and presbyters.' The same is affirmed by Tertullian,[e] St. Cyprian,[f] St. Chrysostom,[g] St. Hilary,[h] Primasius,[i] and generally by the fathers of the elder, and divines of the middle ages.

5. When our blessed Saviour had spoken a parable of the sudden coming of the Son of man, and commanded them therefore with diligence to stand upon their watch, the disciples asked him, "Speakest thou this parable to us, or even to all? And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household to give them their portion of meat in due season?"[k] As if he had said, 'I speak to you; for to whom else should I speak, and give caution for the looking to the house in the master's absence? You are by office and designation my stewards, to feed my servants, to govern my house.'

6. In Scripture, and other writers, 'to feed,' and 'to govern,' is all one, when the office is either political, or economical, or ecclesiastical. "So he fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power."[l] And

[b] De Doctr. Christ. lib. i. c. 18. tract. 118. In Johan. vide etiam tract. 124. et tract. 50. In Joh. de Agon. Christ. cap. 30. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. lib. iii. c. 17.

[c] De Sacerd. lib. iii. [d] In Matt. xvi. [e] Lib. de Pudicit.
[f] Epist. xxvii. [g] Lib. quod Christus est Deus.
[h] De Trinit. lib. vi. [i] In Apocal. lib. iii.
[k] Luke, xii. 42. [l] Psalm lxxviii.

St. Peter joins ἐπισκοποῦντες and ποιμαίνοντες together, ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες.[m] So does St. Paul, προσέχετε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πάντι τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο Ἐπισκόπους.[n]—Ἐπισκόπους ἐν ποιμνίῳ, Rulers or 'Overseers in a flock;' Pastors. It is ordinary. Ποιμένα λαῶν, Homer; *i. e.* βασιλέα ὄχλων. Euripides calls the governors and guides of chariots, ποιμένας ὄχων. And our blessed Saviour himself is called the "great Shepherd of our souls;" and that we may know the intentum of that compellation, it is in conjunction also with Ἐπίσκοπος. He is, therefore, our Shepherd, for he is our Bishop, our Ruler, and Overseer. Since, then, Christ hath left pastors or feeders in his Church, it is also as certain he hath left rulers, they being both one in name, in person, in office. But this is of a known truth to all that understand either laws or languages: οἱ δὲ ποιμαίνοντες ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἔχοντες δύναμιν, saith Philo;[o]—"They that feed have the power of princes and rulers:" the thing is an undoubted truth to most men; but because all are not of a mind, something was necessary for confirmation of it.

SECTION II.

This Government was first committed to the Apostles by Christ.

This government was, by immediate substitution, delegated to the apostles by Christ himself, "in traditione clavium, in spiratione Spiritûs, in missione in Pentecoste." When Christ promised them the "keys," he promised them "power to bind and loose;" when he breathed on them the Holy Ghost, he gave them that actually to which, by the former promise, they were entitled; and in the octaves of the passion, he gave them the same authority, which he had received from his Father, and they were the "faithful and wise stewards, whom the Lord made rulers over his household." But I shall not labour much upon this.[a] Their

[m] 1 Pet. v. 2. [n] Acts, xx.

[o] In lib. de eo quod deterior potiori insidiatur.

[a] Vide Hilarium in hunc locum et pp. communiter.

founding all the churches from east to west, and so, by being fathers, deriving their authority from the nature of the thing; their appointing rulers in every Church; their synodal decrees "de suffocato et sanguine," and letters missive to the churches of Syria and Cilicia; their excommunications of Hymeneus and Alexander, and the incestuous Corinthian; their commanding and requiring obedience of their people in all things, as St. Paul did of his subjects of Corinth, and the Hebrews, by precept apostolical; their threatening the pastoral rod; their calling synods and public assemblies; their ordering rites and ceremonies; composing a symbol as the tessera of Christianity; their public reprehension of delinquents; and, indeed, the whole execution of their apostolate, is one continued argument of their superintendence, and superiority of jurisdiction.

SECTION III.

With a Power of joining others, and appointing Successors, in the Apostolate.

This power, so delegated, was not to expire with their persons; for when the great Shepherd had reduced his wandering sheep into a fold, he would not leave them without "guides to govern" them, so long as the wolf might possibly prey upon them; and that is, till the last separation of the sheep from the goats. And this Christ intimates in that promise, "Ero vobiscum (apostolis) usque ad consummationem seculi." "Vobiscum;" not with your persons, for they died long ago; but "vobiscum et vestri similibus," with apostles to the end of the world. And, therefore, that the apostolate might be successive and perpetual, Christ gave them a power of ordination, that, by imposing hands on others, they might impart that power which they received from Christ. For in the apostles there was something extraordinary, something ordinary. Whatsoever was extraordinary, as 'immediate mission, unlimited jurisdiction, and miraculous operations,' that was not necessary to the perpetual regiment of the Church, for then the Church should fail when these privileges extraordinary did cease. It was

not, therefore, in extraordinary powers and privileges that Christ promised his perpetual assistance; not in speaking of tongues, not in doing miracles, whether 'in materia censuræ,' as delivering to Satan; or 'in materia misericordiæ,' as healing sick people; or 'in re naturali,' as in resisting the venom of vipers, and quenching the violence of flames; in these Christ did not promise perpetual assistance, for then it had been done, and still these signs should have followed them that believe. But we see they do not. It follows, then, that in all the ordinary parts of power and office, Christ did promise to be with them to the end of the world; and, therefore, there must remain a power of giving faculty and capacity to persons successively, for the execution of that in which Christ promised perpetual assistance. For since this perpetual assistance could not be meant of abiding with their persons, who, in few years, were to forsake the world, it must needs be understood of their function, which either it must be succeeded to, or else it was as temporary as their persons. But, in the extraordinary privileges of the apostles, they had no successors; therefore, of necessity, must be constituted in the ordinary office of apostolate. Now, what is this ordinary office? Most certainly since the extraordinary, as is evident, was only a help for the founding and beginning, the other are such as are necessary for the perpetuating of a church. Now, in clear evidence of sense, these offices and powers are 'preaching, baptizing, consecrating, ordaining, and governing.' For these were necessary for the perpetuating of a church, unless men could be Christians that were never christened, nourished up to life without the eucharist, become priests without calling of God and ordination, have their sins pardoned without absolution, be members, and parts, and sons of a church, whereof there is no coadunation, no authority, no governor. These the apostles had without all question; and whatsoever they had, they had from Christ, and these were eternally necessary; these, then, were the offices of the apostolate, which Christ promised to assist for ever, and this is that which we now call the order and office of episcopacy.

SECTION IV.

The Succession into the ordinary Office of Apostolate is made by Bishops.

For although deacons and priests have part of these offices, and therefore, though in a very limited sense, they may be called 'successores apostolorum,' to wit, in the power of baptizing, consecrating the eucharist, and preaching, (an excellent example whereof, though we have none in Scripture, yet if I mistake him not, we have in Ignatius, calling the college of presbyters σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων,—"a combination of apostles;") yet the apostolate and episcopacy, which did communicate in all the power and offices which are ordinary and perpetual, are, in Scripture, clearly all one in ordinary ministration, and their names are often used in common, to signify exactly the same ordinary function.

1. The name was borrowed from the prophet David, in the prediction of the apostasy of Judas, and surrogation of St. Matthias; Καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος·—"His bishoprick," that is, his apostolate,[a] "let another take." The same word, according to the translation of the Seventy, is used by the prophet Isaiah, in an evangelical prediction, Καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ·—"I will give thy princes in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness." "Principes ecclesiæ vocat futuros episcopos," saith St. Jerome,[b] herein admiring God's majesty in the destination of such ministers, whom he calls princes. And to this issue it is cited by St. Clement, in his famous epistle to the Corinthians. But this is no way unusual in Scripture: for,

2. St. James, the brother of our Lord, is called 'an apostle,' and yet he was not in the number of the twelve, but he was bishop of Jerusalem. First: That St. James was called 'an apostle,' appears by the testimony of St. Paul: "But other apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."[c] Secondly: That he was none of the twelve appears also,

[a] For the apostle and the bishop are all one in name and person.
[b] In cap. lx. Isaiah, v. 17.
[c] Gal. i. 19.

because among the twelve apostles there were but two Jameses, the son of Alpheus, and James, the son of Zebedee, the brother of John. But neither of these was the James, whom St. Paul calls 'the Lord's brother.' And this St. Paul intimates, in making a distinct enumeration of all the appearances which Christ made after the resurrection:[d] "First to Cephas, then to the twelve, then to the five hundred brethren, then to James, then to all the apostles." So that here St. James is reckoned distinctly from the twelve, and they from the whole college of the apostles; for there were, it seems, more of that dignity than the twelve. But this will also safely rely upon the concurrent testimony of Hegesippus, Clement, Eusebius, Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome.[e] Thirdly: That St. James was bishop of Jerusalem, and, therefore, called 'an apostle,' appears by the often commemoration of his presidency, and singular eminence in Holy Scripture. Priority of order is mentioned, Gal. ii., even before St. Peter, who yet was "primus apostolorum, naturâ unus homo, gratiâ unus Christianus, abundantiore gratiâ unus idemque primus apostolus," as St. Augustin; yet in his own diocese, St. James had priority of order before him, verse 9. And then, 1. James, 2. Cephas, and, 3. John, &c. First, James before Cephas and St. Peter. St. James, also, was president of that synod which the apostles convocated at Jerusalem about the question of circumcision; as is to be seen, Acts, xv.;[f] to him St. Paul made his address, Acts, xxi.; to him the brethren carried him, where he was found sitting in his college of presbyters, there he was always resident, and his seat fixed; and that he lived bishop of Jerusalem for many years together, is clearly testified by all the faith of the primitive fathers and historians. But of this hereafter.

3. Epaphroditus is called 'the apostle of the Philippians.'[g] "I have sent unto you Epaphroditus," *συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον*, — "my compeer and your apostle." "Gradum apostolatus recepit Epaphroditus," saith Primasius;

[d] 1 Cor. xv.

[e] Vide Carol. Bovium in Constit. Apost. Schol. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Jacobe, et in Galat. i. Epiphan. Hæres. 78, 79. Tract. 124 in Johan.

[f] Vide Pap.

[g] Phil. ii. 25. In hunc locum uterque et Theod. in 1 Tim. iii.

and what that is, we are told by Theodoret; "dictus Philippensium apostolus à S. Paulo, quid hoc aliud nisi episcopus?" "Because he also had received the office of being an apostle among them," saith St. Jerome upon the same place; and it is very observable, that those apostles to whom our blessed Saviour gave immediate substitution, are called ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,—"apostles of Jesus Christ;" but those other men, which were bishops of churches, and called apostles by Scripture, are called ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν,—"apostles of churches," or sometimes 'apostles' alone, but never are entitled 'of Jesus Christ.' "Other of the apostles saw I none, but James, the Lord's brother," Gal. i. There St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem, is called an 'apostle' indefinitely. But St. Paul calls himself often "the apostle of Jesus Christ, not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ." So Peter, an 'apostle of Jesus Christ;' but St. James, in his epistle to the Jews of the dispersion, writes not himself 'the apostle of Jesus Christ,' but δοῦλος Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,—"James, the servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Further yet: St. Paul, although as having an immediate calling from Christ to the office of apostolate, at large calls himself the apostle of Jesus Christ; yet when he was sent to preach to the Gentiles, by the particular direction indeed of the Holy Ghost, but by human constitution, and imposition of hands;[h] in relation to that part of his office, and his cure of the uncircumcision, he limits his apostolate to his diocese, and calls himself, ἀπόστολον ἐθνῶν,—"the apostle of the Gentiles;"[i] as St. Peter, for the same reason, and in the same modification, is called ἀπόστολος περιτομῆς, that is, "the apostle of those who were of the circumcision."[k] And thus Epaphroditus, is called 'the apostle of the Philippians,' who clearly was their bishop (as I shall shew in the sequel), that is, he had an apostolate limited to the diocese of Philippi. "Paulatim verò tempore procedente, et alii ab his quos Dominus elegerat, ordinati sunt apostoli, sicut ille ad Philippenses sermo declarat, dicens, Necessarium autem existimo Epaphroditum," &c., so St. Jerome;[l] "In process of time, others, besides those whom the Lord had chosen, were

[h] Acts, xiii. 2, 3.
[i] Rom. xi. 13.
[k] Gal. ii. 8.
[l] In cap. i. Gal.

ordained apostles;" and particularly he instances in Epaphroditus, from the authority of this instance, adding also, that by the apostles themselves, Judas and Silas were called 'apostles.'

4. Thus Titus, and some other with him, who came to Jerusalem with the Corinthian benevolence, are called ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν,—"the apostles of the churches:"[m] apostles, I say, in the episcopal sense. They were none of the twelve, they were not of immediate Divine mission, but of apostolic ordination; they were actually bishops, as I shall shew hereafter. Titus was bishop of Crete, and Epaphroditus of Philippi; and these were the apostles; for Titus came with the Corinthian, Epaphroditus with the Colossian, liberality. Now these men were not ἀπόστολοι, called 'messengers' in respect of these churches sending them with their contributions. 1. Because they are not called the 'apostles of these churches,' to wit, whose alms they carried, but simply ἐκκλησιῶν,—"of the churches," viz. of their own, of which they were bishops. For if the title of apostle had related to their mission from these churches, it is unimaginable that there should be no term of relation expressed. 2. It is very clear that, although they did indeed carry the benevolence of the several churches, yet St. Paul, not those churches, sent them; "And we have sent with them our brother,"[n] &c. 3. They are called 'apostles of the churches,' not going from Corinth with the money, but before they came thither, from whence they were to be despatched in legation to Jerusalem: "If any inquire of Titus, or the brethren, they are the apostles of the Church, and the glory of Christ."[o] So they were 'apostles' before they went to Corinth, not for their being employed in the transportation of their charity. So that it is plain, that their apostolate being not relative to the churches, whose benevolence they carried, and they having churches of their own, as Titus had Crete, Epaphroditus had Philippi, their apostolate was a fixed residence, and superintendence of their several churches.

[m] 2 Cor. viii. 23. [n] Verse 22. [o] Verse 23.

SECTION V.

And Office.

But in Holy Scripture, the identity of the ordinary office of apostleship and episcopacy is clearer yet. For when the Holy Spirit had sent seven letters to the seven Asian bishops, the angel of the Church of Ephesus is commended for trying them, which say they are apostles and are not, and hath found them liars.[a] This angel of the Church of Ephesus, as antiquity hath taught us, was at that time Timothy, or Gaius;[b] the first a disciple, the other had been an entertainer, of the apostles, and either of them knew them well enough: it could not be, that any man should dissemble their persons, and counterfeit himself St. Paul or St. Peter. And if they had, yet little trying was needful to discover their folly in such a case; and whether it was Timothy or Gaius, he could deserve but small commendations for the mere believing of his own eyes and memory. Besides, the apostles, except St. John, all were then dead, and he known to live in Patmos; known by the public attestation of the sentence of relegation 'ad insulam.' These men, therefore, dissembling themselves to be apostles, must dissemble an ordinary function, not an extraordinary person. And, indeed, by the concourse of story, place, and time, Diotrephes was the man St. John chiefly pointed at. For he, seeing that at Ephesus there had been an episcopal chair placed, and Timothy a long while possessed of it, and perhaps Gaius after him,[c] if we may trust Dorotheus, and the like in some other churches; and that St. John had not constituted bishops in all other churches of the lesser Asia, but kept the jurisdiction to be ministered by himself, would arrogantly take upon him to be a bishop without apostolical ordination, obtruding himself upon the Church of Ephesus; so becoming ἀλλοτριο-επίσκοπος,—"a busy man in another's diocese." This, and such impostors as this, the angel of the Church of Ephesus did try, and discover, and convict; and in it he was assisted by St. John

[a] Apocal. ii. [b] Doroth. Synops.

[c] Vide Constit. Apost. per Clement. ubi quidam Johannes in Epheso Episc. post Timoth. collocatur.

himself, as is intimated in St. John's third epistle, written to his Gaius (v. 9), "I wrote unto the Church," to wit, of Asia, "but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not." Clearly this ψευδοαπόστολος would have been a bishop. It was a matter of ambition, a quarrel for superintendence and pre-eminence, that troubled him; and this also appears further, in that he exercised jurisdiction and excommunication, where he had nothing to do (v. 10); "He forbids them that would receive the brethren, and casteth them out of the church." So that here it is clear, this false apostolate was his ambitious seeking of episcopal pre-eminence and jurisdiction, without lawful ordination. Φιλοπρωτεύων Διοτρεφής, that was his design; he loved to be the first in the church, "esse apostolum, esse episcopum; — to be an apostle, or a bishop."

SECTION VI.

Which Christ himself hath made distinct from Presbyters.

But this office of the ordinary apostleship or episcopacy, derives its fountain from a rock; Christ's own distinguishing the apostolate from the function of presbyters. For when our blessed Saviour had gathered many disciples, who believed him at his first preaching, "Vocavit discipulos suos, et elegit duodecim ex ipsis quos et apostolos nominavit,"[a] saith St. Luke:—"He called his disciples, and out of them chose twelve, and called them apostles." That was the first election. "Post hæc autem designavit Dominus et alios septuaginta-duos." That was his second election; the first were called 'apostles,' the second were not, and yet he sent them by two and two.

We hear but of one commission granted them, which when they had performed, and returned joyful at their power over devils, we hear no more of them in the Gospel, but that their names were written in heaven. We are likely, therefore, to hear of them after the passion, if they can but hold their own. And so we do. For after the passion, the

[a] Luke, x.

apostles gathered them together, and joined them in clerical commission, by virtue of Christ's first ordination of them; for a new ordination we find none in Holy Scripture recorded, before we find them doing clerical offices. Ananias, we read, baptizing of Saul; Philip, the evangelist, we find preaching in Samaria, and baptizing his converts; others also, we find presbyters at Jerusalem, especially at the first council; for there was Judas, surnamed Justus; and Silas and St. Mark; and John (a presbyter, not an apostle, as Eusebius reports him[b]); and Simeon Cleophas, who tarried there till he was made bishop of Jerusalem. These, and divers others, are reckoned to be of the number of the seventy-two, by Eusebius and Dorotheus.

Here are plainly two offices of ecclesiastical ministries, apostles and presbyters; so the Scripture calls them. These were distinct, and not temporary, but succeeded to; and if so, then here is clearly a Divine institution of two orders, and yet deacons neither of them. Here let us fix awhile.

SECTION VII.

Giving to Apostles a Power to do some Offices perpetually necessary, which to others he gave not.

THEN, it is clear in Scripture, that the apostles did some acts of ministry, which were necessary to be done for ever in the Church, and, therefore, to be committed to their successors; which acts the seventy disciples or presbyters could not do. Ἐγκρίνας δὲ αὐτῇ παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τάξεις εἰς λειτουργίαν ὁ θεῖος θεσμὸς ἀπονενέμηκε τὰς θειοτέρας ἱερουργίας, saith St. Denis, of the highest order of the hierarchy:[a] "The law of God hath reserved the greater and diviner offices to the highest order."

First: The apostles imposed hands in ordinations, which the seventy-two did not. The case is known, Acts, vi. The apostles called the disciples, willing them to choose seven men, whom they might constitute in the ministration and oversight of the poor. They did so, and sent them before the twelve apostles; so they are specified and numbered, verse 2

[b] Lib. iii. c. 3. [a] Eccles. Hierarch. c. v. As of Ordination.

cum 6, "and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them." They, not the disciples, not the seventy-two, who were there actually present, and seven of them were then ordained to this ministry; for they were not now ordained to be διάκονοι μυστηρίων, but τραπέζων, as the Council of Constantinople calls them;[b] and that these were the number of the seventy-two disciples, Epiphanius bears witness.[c] He sent other seventy-two to preach, ἐξ ὧν ἦσαν οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ τῶν χηρῶν τεταγμένοι,—"of which number were those seven ordained and set over the widows." And the same is intimated by St. Chrysostom, if I understand him right; Ποῖον δὲ ἄρα ἀξίωμα εἶχον οὗτοι, καὶ ποίαν ἐδέξαντο χειροτονίαν ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν· ἆρα τὴν τῶν διακόνων; καὶ μὴν τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐστίν ἡ οἰκονομία.[d] What dignity had these seven here ordained? Of deacons? No; for this dispensation is made by priests, not deacons; and Theophylact, more clearly repeating the words of St. Chrysostom, 'pro more suo,' adds this: Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἶμαι τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ τέως εἰς τοῦτο διακονεῖν τοῖς πιστοῖς τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐχειροτονήθησαν.[e] The name and dignity of these seven was no less, but even the dignity of presbyters, only for the time they were appointed to dispense the goods of the church for the good of the faithful people. Presbyters they were, say St. Chrysostom and Theophylact; of the number of the Seventy-two, saith Epiphanius. But, however, it is clear, that the Seventy-two were present; for the whole multitude of the disciples was as yet there resident; they were not yet sent abroad, they were not scattered with persecution, till the martyrdom of St. Stephen; but the twelve called the whole multitude of the disciples to them about this affair (verse 2). But yet themselves only did ordain them.

Secondly: An instance parallel to this, is in the imposition of hands upon St. Paul and Barnabas, in the first ordination that was held at Antioch.[f] "Now there were in the church that was at Antioch, certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaën, and Saul. Λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν, while these men were ministering, the Holy Ghost said to them, Separate me Barnabas and

[b] In Trullo, can. 16.
[c] Hæres. xx.
[d] Homil. 14. in Act. vi.
[e] In hunc locum.
[f] Acts, xiii.

Saul." They did so; they "fasted, they prayed, they laid their hands on them, and sent them away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed into Seleucia." This is the story; now let us make our best of it. Here, then, was the ordination and imposition of hands complete; and that was said to be done by the Holy Ghost, which was done by the prophets of Antioch. For they sent them away; and yet the next words are, "so they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost." So that here was the thing done, and that by the prophets alone, and that by the command of the Holy Ghost, and said to be his act. Well! but what were these prophets? They were prophets in the Church of Antioch: not such as Agabus, and the daughters of Philip the evangelist, prophets of prediction extraordinary, but prophets of ordinary office and ministration; προφῆται, διδάσκαλοι, καὶ λειτουργοῦντες,—'prophets, and teachers, and ministers.'[g] More than ordinary ministers, for they were doctors or teachers; and that is not all, for they were prophets too. This, even at first sight, is more than the ordinary office of the presbytery. We shall see this clear enough in St. Paul,[h] where the ordinary office of prophets is reckoned before pastors, before evangelists, next to apostles; that is, next to such apostles, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, as St. Paul there expresses it; next to those apostles to whom Christ hath given immediate mission. And these are, therefore, apostles too; apostles 'secundi ordinis;' none of the twelve, but such as St. James, and Epaphroditus, and Barnabas, and St. Paul himself. To be sure they were such prophets as St. Paul and Barnabas; for they are reckoned in the number by St. Luke; for here it was that St. Paul, although he had immediate vocation by Christ, yet he had particular ordination to his apostolate or ministry of the Gentiles. It is evident, then, what prophets these were; they were, at the least, more than ordinary presbyters, and, therefore, they imposed hands, and they only. And yet, to make the business up complete, St. Mark was amongst them, but he imposed no hands; he was there as the deacon and minister (verse 5), but he meddled not. St. Luke fixes the whole action upon the prophets, such as

[g] Prophetas duplici genere intelligamus, et futura dicentes, et scripturas revelantes.—*St. Ambros. in* 1 *Cor.* xii.

[h] Ephes. iv.

St. Paul himself was, and so did the Holy Ghost too; but neither did St. Mark, who was an evangelist and one of the seventy-two disciples (as he is reckoned in the primitive catalogues by Eusebius and Dorotheus), nor any of the college of the Antiochian presbyters, that were less than prophets, that is, who were not more than mere presbyters.

The sum is this: Imposition of hands is a duty and office necessary for the perpetuating of a church, 'ne gens sit unius ætatis,—lest it expire in one age.' This power of imposition of hands for ordination, was fixed upon the apostles and apostolic men, and not communicated to the seventy-two disciples or presbyters; for the apostles and apostolic men did so 'de facto,' and were commanded to do so, and the Seventy-two never did so. Therefore, this office and ministry of the apostolate is distinct, and superior to that of presbyters; and this distinction must be so continued to all ages of the Church; for the thing was not temporary, but productive of issue and succession; and, therefore, as perpetual as the clergy, as the Church itself.

SECTION VIII.

And Confirmation.

Secondly: The apostles did impose hands for confirmation of baptized people; and this was a perpetual act of a power to be succeeded to, and yet not communicated, nor executed by the Seventy-two, or any other mere presbyter. That the apostles did confirm baptized people, and others of the inferior clergy could not, is, beyond all exception, clear, in the case of the Samaritan Christians. (Acts, viii.) For when St. Philip had converted and baptized the men of Samaria, the apostles sent Peter and John to lay their hands on them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. St. Philip was an evangelist; he was one of the seventy-two disciples,[a] a presbyter, and appointed to the same ministration that St. Stephen was, about the poor widows; yet he could not do this; the apostles must, and did. This giving of the Holy Ghost by

[a] S. Cyprian. ad Jubajan.

imposition of the apostles' hands, was not for a miraculous gift, but an ordinary grace. For St. Philip could, and did do miracles enough; but this grace he could not give, the grace of consigning or confirmation. The like case is in Acts, xii. where some people, having been baptized at Ephesus, St. Paul confirmed them, giving them the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands. The apostles did it; not the twelve only, but apostolic men, the other apostles. St. Paul did it. St. Philip could not, nor any of the Seventy-two; or any other mere presbyters ever did it, that we find in Holy Scripture.

Yea, but this imposition of hands was for a miraculous issue; for the Ephesine Christians received the Holy Ghost, and spake with tongues, and prophesied; which effect, because it is ceased, certainly the thing was temporary, and long ago expired. First: Not for this reason, to be sure. For extraordinary effects may be temporary, when the function which they attest may be eternal; and, therefore, are no signs of an extraordinary ministry. The apostles' preaching was attended by miracles, and extraordinary conversions of people, *ut in exordio*, "Apostolos divinorum signorum comitabantur effectus et Spiritus Sancti gratia, ita ut videres una alloquutione integros simul populos ad cultum divinæ religionis adduci, et prædicantium verbis non esse tardiorem audientium fidem," as Eusebius tells,[b] of the success of the preaching of some evangelists; yet I hope preaching must not now cease, because no miracles are done; or that to convert one man now, would be the greatest miracle. The apostles, when they cursed and anathematized a delinquent, he died suddenly; as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, whom St. Peter slew with the word of his ministry; and yet now, although these extraordinary issues cease, it is not safe venturing upon the curses of the Church. When the apostles did excommunicate a sinner, he was presently delivered over to Satan to be buffeted; that is, to be afflicted with corporal punishments; and now, although no such exterminating angels beat the bodies of persons excommunicate, yet the power of excommunication, I hope, still remains in the Church, and the power of the keys is not also gone. So, also, in the power of confirmation;[c] which, however, attended

[b] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 37.

[c] Vide August. tract. vi. in 1 Epist. Johan.

by a visible miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost, in gifts of languages and healing; yet, like other miracles in respect of the whole integrity of Christian faith, these miracles at first did confirm the function and the faith for ever.

Now, then, that this right of imposing hands, for confirming of baptized people, was not to expire with the persons of the apostles, appears from these considerations.

First: Because Christ made a promise of sending "Vicarium suum Spiritum," the Holy Ghost, in his stead; and this, by way of appropriation, is called "the promise of the Father." This was pertinent to all Christendom, "Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem;" so it was in the prophecy. "For the promise is to you and to your children, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν, ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται Κύριος,—and to all them that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord shall call."[d] So it was in the first accomplishing. To all: And this for ever; "for I will send the Holy Ghost unto you, and he shall abide with you for ever." For it was 'in subsidium,' to supply the comforts of his desired presence; and must, therefore, 'ex vi intentionis,' be remanent till Christ's coming again. Now, then, this promise being to be communicated to all, and that for ever, must either come to us by, 1. Extraordinary and miraculous mission; or by, 2. An ordinary ministry. Not the first; for we might as well expect the gift of miracles. If the second (as it is most certain so), then the main question is evicted; viz. that something perpetually necessary was in the power of the apostles, which was not in the power of the inferior ministers, nor of any but themselves and their colleagues; to wit, 'ministerium S. Spiritûs,' or the ordinary 'office of giving the Holy Ghost' by imposition of hands. For this promise was performed to the apostles in Pentecost, to the rest of the faithful after baptism; "Quod enim nunc in confirmandis Neophytis manûs impositio tribuit singulis, hoc tunc Spiritûs Sancti descensio, in credentium populo donavit universis," saith Eusebius Emissenus.[e] Now we find no other way of performing it, nor any ordinary conveyance of the Spirit to all people, but this; and we find that the Holy Ghost actually was given this way. Therefore, the effect, to wit, the Holy

[d] Acts, ii. 39. [e] Serm. de Pentecost.

Ghost, being to continue for ever, and the promise of universal concernment, this way also of its communication, to wit, by apostolical imposition of hands, is also, 'perpetuum ministerium,' to be succeeded to, and to abide for ever.

Secondly: This ministry of imposition of hands, for confirmation of baptized people, is so far from being a temporary grace, and to determine with the persons of the apostles, that it is a fundamental point of Christianity, an essential ingredient to its composition; St. Paul is my author: "Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, faith towards God, the doctrines of baptism, and of laying on of hands,"[f] &c. Here is imposition of hands reckoned as part of the foundation and a principle of Christianity in St. Paul's catechism. Now, imposition of hands is used by name in Scripture but for two ministrations: first, for ordination; and secondly, for this whatsoever it is. Imposition of hands for ordination does indeed give the Holy Ghost, but not as he is that promise which is called "the promise of the Father." For the Holy Ghost for ordination was given before the ascension, John, xx. But the promises of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, (the Paraclete, I say, not the Ordainer or Fountain of priestly order, that) was not given till the day of Pentecost; and besides, it was promised to all Christian people, and the other was given only to the clergy.

Add to this, that St. Paul having laid this in the foundation, makes his progress from this to 'perfection' (as he calls it), that is, to higher mysteries; and then his discourse is immediately of the priesthood evangelical, which is originally in Christ, ministerially in the clergy; so that, unless we will either confound the terms of his progress, or imagine him to make the ministry of the clergy the foundation of Christ's priesthood, and not rather contrary, it is clear that, by imposition of hands, St. Paul means not ordination, and therefore confirmation, there being no other ordinary ministry of imposition of hands, but these two specified in Holy Scripture. For, as for benediction, in which Christ used the ceremony, and as for healing, in which Ananias and the apostles used

[f] Heb. vi. 2.

it: the first is clearly no principle or fundamental point of Christianity; and the second is confessedly extraordinary; therefore the argument is still firm upon its first principles.

3. Lastly: The Primitive Church did 'de facto,' and believed themselves to be tied 'de jure' to use this rite of confirmation and giving of the Holy Ghost after baptism.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus, in Eusebius, tells a story of a young man whom St. John had converted and committed to a bishop to be brought up in the faith of Christendom: "Qui," saith St. Clement, "eum baptismi sacramento illuminavit, posteà verò sigillo Domini tanquam perfectâ et tutâ ejus animi custodiâ obsignavit."[g] The bishop first 'baptized' him, then 'consigned' him. Justin Martyr says, (speaking 'pro more ecclesiæ,—according to the custom of the Church,)' that when the mysteries of baptism were done, then the faithful are consigned, or confirmed.[h]

St. Cyprian relates to this story of St. Philip and the apostles, and gives this account of the whole affair: "Et idcircò quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptismum consequuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultrà non oportebat; sed tantummodo id quod deerat, id à Petro et Johanne factum erat, ut, oratione pro eis habitâ et manu impositâ, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesiâ baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur; ut per nostram orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico confirmentur."[i]—St. Peter and St. John, by imposing their hands on the converts of Samaria, praying over them, and giving them the Holy Ghost, made supply to them of what was wanting after baptism; and this is to this day done in the Church; for new baptized people are brought to the bishops, and, by imposition of their hands, obtain the Holy Ghost.

But for this who pleases to be further satisfied in the primitive faith of Christendom, may see it in the decretal epistles of Cornelius the Martyr to Fabianus, recorded by Eusebius: in the epistle[k] written to Julius and Julianus, bishops, under the name of St. Clement; in the epistle[l] of

[g] Lib. iii. Hist. cap. 17.
[h] Quæst. 137. ad Orthod.
[i] Epist. 73. ad Jubajan.
[k] Lib. vi. Hist. cap. 33.
[l] In 1. tom. Concil.

Urban P. and martyr; in Tertullian,[m] in St. Austin,[n] and in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, whose whole third Mystagogique catechism is concerning confirmation. This only: "The catholics, whose Christian prudence it was, in all true respects, to disadvantage heretics, lest their poison should infect like a pest, laid it in Novatus's dish as a crime, 'He was baptized in his bed, and was not confirmed,' Unde nec Spiritum Sanctum unquam potuerit promereri:—Therefore he could never receive the gift of the Holy Ghost:" So Cornelius in the forequoted epistle. Whence it is evident, that then it was the belief of Christendom, that the Holy Ghost was, by no ordinary ministry, given to faithful people after baptism, but only by apostolical or episcopal consignation and imposition of hands.

What also the faith of Christendom was concerning the minister of confirmation, and that bishops only could do it, I shall make evident in the descent of this discourse. Here the scene lies in Scripture, where it is clear that St. Philip, one of the seventy-two disciples, as antiquity reports him, and an evangelist and a disciple, as Scripture also expresses him, could not impose hands for application of the promise of the Father, and ministerial giving of the Holy Ghost, but the apostles must go to do it; and also there is no example in Scripture of any that ever did it but an apostle, and yet this is an ordinary ministry which 'de jure' ought, and 'de facto' always was continued in the Church. Therefore there must always be an ordinary office of apostleship in the Church to do it, that is, an office above presbyters, for in Scripture they could never do it; and this is it which we call episcopacy.

SECTION IX.

And Superiority of Jurisdiction.

THIRDLY: The apostles were rulers of the whole Church, and each apostle respectively of his several diocese, when he

[m] Lib. de Baptismo, c. 8.

[n] Lib. ii. contra Lit. Petil. cap. 104. et lib. xv. de Trinit. c. 26. Vide etiam S. Hieron. contra Luciferianos. S. Ambros. lib. ii. c. 2. de Sacramentis, Epist. 3. Euseb. P. et M. ad Episc. Tusciæ et Campon. Isidor. Hispal. de Eccles. Offic. lib. ii. c. 26.

would fix his chair; and had superintendence over the presbyters and the people, and this by Christ's donation. The charter is by the fathers said to be this: "Sicut misit me Pater, sic ergo mitto vos;—As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you."[a] "Manifesta enim est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem à Patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus eâdem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes;" said Clarus à Musculâ, the bishop in the Council of Carthage, related by St. Cyprian and St. Austin.[b] But, however, it is evident in Scripture, that the apostles had such superintendence over the inferior clergy (presbyters I mean and deacons), and a superiority of jurisdiction, and therefore it is certain that Christ gave it them, for none of the apostles took this honour, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron.

1. Our blessed Saviour gave to the apostles 'plenitudinem potestatis.' It was "Sicut misit me Pater," &c.; "As my Father sent, so I send you, my apostles, whom I have chosen." This was not said to presbyters, for they had no commission at all given to them by Christ, but at their first mission to preach repentance. I say no commission at all; they were not spoken to, they were not present. Now then consider. Suppose that, as Aerius did deny the Divine institution of bishops over the presbyters 'cum grege,' another as confident as he should deny the Divine institution of presbyters, what proof were there in all the Holy Scripture to shew the Divine institution of them as a distinct order from apostles or bishops? Indeed Christ selected seventy-two, and gave them commission to preach; but that commission was temporary, and expired before the crucifixion, for aught appears in Scripture. If it be said the apostles did ordain presbyters in every city, it is true, but not sufficient, for so they ordained deacons at Jerusalem, and in all established churches, and yet this will not tantamount to an immediate Divine institution for deacons; and how can it then for presbyters? If we say a constant catholic traditive interpretation of Scripture does teach us, that Christ did institute the presbyterate together with episcopacy, and made

[a] John, xx. 21.

[b] Lib. vii. de Baptism. contra Donatist. c. 43. Vide etiam S. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. et S. Cyril. in Joh. lib. xii. c. 55.

the apostles presbyters as well as bishops; this is true. But then, 1. We recede from the plain words of Scripture, and rely upon tradition, which, in this question of episcopacy, will be of dangerous consequence to the enemies of it; for the same tradition, if that be admitted for good probation, is for episcopal pre-eminence over presbyters, as will appear in the sequel. 2. Though no use be made of this advantage, yet to the allegation it will be quickly answered, that it can never be proved from Scripture that Christ made the apostles priests first, and then bishops or apostles, but only that Christ gave them several commissions, and parts of the office apostolical, all which being in one person, cannot by force of Scripture prove two orders. Truth is, if we change the scene of war, and say that the presbyterate, as a distinct order from the ordinary office of apostleship, is not of Divine institution, the proof of it would be harder than for the Divine institution of episcopacy. Especially if we consider, that, in all the enumerations of the parts of clerical offices, there is no enumeration of presbyters, but of apostles there is;[c] and the other members of the induction are of gifts of Christianity, or parts of the apostolate; and either must infer many more orders than the Church ever yet admitted of, or none distinct from the apostolate; insomuch as apostles were pastors, and teachers, and evangelists, and rulers, and had the gift of tongues, of healing, and of miracles. This thing is of great consideration; and this use I will make of it: That either Christ made the Seventy-two to be presbyters, and in them instituted the distinct order of presbyterate, as the ancient Church always did believe, or else he gave no distinct commission for any such distinct order. If the second be admitted, then the presbyterate is not of immediate Divine institution, but of apostolical only, as is the order of deacons; and the whole plenitude of power is in the order apostolical alone, and the apostles did constitute presbyters with a greater portion of their own power, as they did deacons with a less. But if the first be said, then the commission to the Seventy-two presbyters being only of preaching that we find in Scripture, all the rest of their power which now they have, is by apostolical ordinance; and then, although the apostles did

[c] Ephes. iv. 1 Cor. xii.

admit them "in partem solicitudinis," yet they did not admit them "in plenitudinem potestatis," for then they must have made them apostles, and then there will be no distinction of order neither by Divine nor apostolical institution.

I care not which part be chosen, one is certain; but if either of them be true, then, since to the apostles only Christ gave a plenitude of power, it follows, that either the presbyters have no power of jurisdiction, as affixed to a distinct order, and then the apostles are to rule them by virtue of the order and ordinary commission apostolical; or, if they have jurisdiction, they do derive it "à fonte apostolorum," and then the apostles have superiority of jurisdiction over presbyters, because presbyters only have it by delegation apostolical. And that I say truth (besides that there is no possibility of shewing the contrary in Scripture, by the producing any other commission given to presbyters, than what I have specified), I will hereafter shew it to have been the faith and practice of Christendom, not only that presbyters were actually subordinate to bishops (which I contend to be the ordinary office of apostleship), but that presbyters have no jurisdiction essential to their order, but derivative only from apostolical pre-eminence.

2. Let us now see the matter of fact. They that can inflict censures upon presbyters have certainly superiority of jurisdiction over presbyters, for "Æqualis æqualem coercere non potest," saith the law. Now it is evident, in the case of Diotrephes, a presbyter, and a bishop would-be, that, for his peremptory rejection of some faithful people from the catholic communion without cause, and without authority, St. John the apostle threatened him in his epistle to Gaius, *διὰ τοῦτο ἐὰν ἔλθω, ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ*, &c. "Wherefore when I come, I will remember him;" and all that would have been to very little purpose, if he had not had coercive jurisdiction to have punished his delinquency.

3. Presbyters many of them did succeed the apostles by a new ordination, as Matthias succeeded Judas, who, before his new ordination, was one of the Seventy-two, as Eusebius,[d] Epiphanius,[e] and St. Jerome[f] affirm, and in Scripture is

[d] Lib. i. Hist. c. 12; et lib. ii. c. 9. [e] Hæres. xx.

[f] De Script. Eccles. in Mat. vide Irenæum, lib. iv. c. 63. Tertul. de Præscript.

expressed to be of the number of them that went in and out with Jesus; St. Clement succeeded St. Peter at Rome; St. Simeon Cleophas succeeded St. James at Jerusalem; St. Philip succeeded St. Paul at Cæsarea; and divers others of the seventy-two reckoned by Dorotheus, Eusebius, and others of the fathers, did govern the several churches after the apostles' death, which before they did not. Now it is clear, that he that receives no more power after the apostles, than he had under them, can no way be said to succeed them in their charge or churches. It follows, then, since (as will more fully appear anon) presbyters did succeed the apostles, that under the apostles they had not such jurisdiction as afterwards they had. But the apostles had the same to which the presbyters succeeded, therefore greater than the presbyters had, before they did succeed. When I say presbyters succeeded the apostles, I mean, not as presbyters, but by a new ordination to the dignity of bishops; so they succeeded, and so they prove an evidence of fact, for a superiority of jurisdiction in the apostolical clergy. Now, that this superiority of jurisdiction was not temporary, but to be succeeded in, appears from reason, and from ocular demonstration, or of the thing done.

1. If superiority of jurisdiction was necessary in the ages apostolical for the regiment of the Church, there is no imaginable reason why it should not be necessary in succession, since, upon the emergency of schisms and heresies, which were foretold should multiply in descending ages, government and superiority of jurisdiction, unity of supremacy, and coercion, was more necessary than at first, when extraordinary gifts might supply what now we expect to be performed by an ordinary authority.

2. Whatsoever was the regiment of the Church in the apostles' times, that must be perpetual, (not so as to have 'all'[s] that which was personal and temporary, but so as to have 'no other,') for that, and that only, is of Divine institution which Christ committed to the apostles; and if the Church be not now governed as then, we can shew no Divine authority for our government; which we must contend to do, and do it too, or be called usurpers. For either the apostles did

[s] Ut puta, viduarum collegium, et diaconorum, et cœnobium fidelium, &c.

govern the Church as Christ commanded them, or not. If not, then they failed in the founding of the Church, and the Church is not built upon a rock. If they did, as most certainly they did, then either the same disparity of jurisdiction must be retained, or else we must be governed with an unlawful and unwarranted equality, because not by that which only is of immediate Divine institution; and then it must needs be a fine government where there is no authority, and where no man is superior.

3. We see a disparity in the regiment of churches warranted by Christ himself, and confirmed by the Holy Ghost, in fairest intimation. I mean the seven angel-presidents of the seven Asian churches. If these seven angels were seven bishops, that is, prelates or governors of these seven churches, in which it is evident and confessed of all sides there were many presbyters,— then it is certain that a superiority of jurisdiction was intended by Christ himself, and given by him, insomuch as he is the fountain of all power derived to the Church; for Christ writes to these seven churches, and directs his epistles to the seven governors of these churches, calling them angels; which it will hardly be supposed he would have done, if the function had not been a ray of the Sun of Righteousness; they had not else been angels of light, nor stars held in Christ's own right hand.

This is certain, that the function of these angels, whatsoever it be, is a Divine institution. Let us, then, see what is meant by these stars and angels. "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches."[h]

1. Then it is evident, that although the epistles were sent, with a final intention for the edification and confirmation of the whole churches, or people of the diocese, with an "attendite quid Spiritus dicit ecclesiis;" yet the personal direction was not to the whole church, for the whole church is called the candlestick, and the superscription of the epistle is not to the seven 'candlesticks,' but to the seven 'stars,' which are the angels of the seven churches, viz. the lights shining in the candlesticks. By the angel, therefore, is not, cannot be meant, the 'whole church.'

[h] Rev. i. 20.

2. It is plain, that by the angel is meant the governor of the church; first, because of the title of eminence, the angel κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is, the messenger, the legate, the apostle of the church. Ἄγγελοι ἐκκλησιῶν· For these words, 'angel' or 'apostle' although they signify mission or legation, yet, in Scripture, they often relate to the persons to whom they are sent; as in the examples before specified. Ἄγγελοι ἐκκλησιῶν·—"Their angels." Ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν·—"The apostles of the churches." Ἄγγελος τῆς Ἐφησίνης Ἐκκλησίας·—"The angel of the Church of Ephesus;" and divers others. Their compellation, therefore, being a word of 'office,' in respect of him that sends them, and of 'eminence,' in relation to them to whom they are sent, shews that the angel was the ruler of each church respectively. 2. Because acts of jurisdiction are concredited to him; as not to suffer false apostles; so to the angel of the Church of Ephesus, which is clearly a power of cognizance and coercion "in causis clericorum," to be 'watchful' and 'strengthen' the things that remain; as to the angel of the Church in Sardis, γίνου γρηγορῶν, καὶ στήριξον τὰ λοιπά·—"The 'first' is the office of rulers, for they 'watch' for your souls;"[i] and the second, of apostles and apostolic men. Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ Σίλας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπεστήριξαν·—"Judas and Silas confirmed the brethren;" for these men, although they were but of the LXXII. at first, yet by this time were made apostles and "chief men among the brethren." St. Paul, also, was joined in this work, διήρχετο ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας·—"He went up and down confirming the churches."[k] And τὰ λοιπὰ διατάξομαι· St. Paul.[l] To confirm the churches, and to make supply of what is deficient in discipline and government, these were offices of power and jurisdiction, no less than episcopal or apostolical; and besides, the angel here spoken of had a propriety in the people of the diocese; "thou hast a few names even in Sardis;" they were the bishop's people, the angel had a right to them. And good reason that the people should be his, for their faults are attributed to him, as to the angel of Pergamus, and divers others, and, therefore, they are deposited in his custody. He is to be their ruler and pastor, and this is called "his ministry." To the angel of the Church of Thyatira οἶδά σου

[i] Heb. xiii. 17. [k] Acts, xv. [l] 1 Cor. xi.

τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τὴν διακονίαν—"I have known thy ministry." His office, therefore, was clerical, it was an angel-minister; and this his office must make him the guide and superior to the rest, even all the whole church, since he was charged with all.

3. By the angel is meant a singular person, for the reprehensions and the commendations respectively, imply personal delinquency, or suppose personal excellences. Add to this, that the compellation is singular, and of determinate number, so that we may as well multiply churches as persons; for the seven churches had but seven stars, and these seven stars were the angels of the seven churches. And if by seven stars they may mean seventy times seven stars (for so they may, if they begin to multiply), then, by one star, they must mean many stars; and so they may multiply churches too, for there were as many churches as stars, and no more angels than churches; and it is as reasonable to multiply these seven churches into seven thousand, as every star into a constellation, or every angel into a legion.

But besides the exigency of the thing itself, these seven angels are, by antiquity, called the seven governors or bishops of the seven churches, and their names are commemorated. Unto these seven churches, "St. John," saith Arethas,[m] "reckoneth ἰσαρίθμους ἐφόρους Ἀγγέλους, an equal number of angel-governors;" and Œcumenius, in his Scholia upon this place, saith the very same words; "Septem igitur angelos rectores septem ecclesiarum debemus intelligere, eò quòd angelus nuntius interpretatur," saith St. Ambrose; and again, "Angelos episcopos dicit, sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Johannis."[n] Let the woman have a covering on her head, "because of the angels;"[o] that is, in reverence and in subjection to the bishop of the church, for bishops are the angels, as is taught in the Revelation of St. John. "Divinâ voce sub angeli nomine laudatur præpositus ecclesiæ," so St. Austin: "By the voice of God, the bishop of the church is commended under the title of an angel."[p] Eusebius names some of these angels, who were then presidents and actually bishops of these churches. St. Polycarp was one to be sure, "apud Smyrnam et episcopus et martyr," saith Euse-

[m] In Apocal. i. [n] Ibid. [o] In 1 Cor. xi.
[p] Epist. 162, et in Apocal. lib. v. c. 24.

bius. He was the angel of the Church of Smyrna; and he had good authority for it, for he reports it out of Polycrates,[q] who, a little after, was himself an angel of the Church of Ephesus; and he also quotes St. Irenæus for it, and out of the encyclical epistle of the Church of Smyrna itself; and, besides these authorities, it is attested by St. Ignatius[r] and Tertullian.[s] St. Timothy was another angel, to wit, of the Church of Ephesus; to be sure had been, and most likely was still surviving. Antipas is reckoned by name in the Revelation, and he had been the angel of Pergamus; but before this book was written, he was turned from an angel to a saint.[t] Melito, in all probability, was then the angel of the Church of Sardis. "Melito quoque Sardensis ecclesiæ antistes, et Apollinaris apud Hierapolim ecclesiam regens celeberrimi inter cæteros habebantur," saith Eusebius.[u] These men were actually living when St. John writ his Revelation; for Melito writ his book "De Paschate," when Sergius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, and writ after the Revelation; for he writ a treatise of it, as saith Eusebius. However, at least some of these were then, and all of these about that time were, bishops of these churches; and the angels St. John speaks of, were such who had jurisdiction over their whole diocese; therefore these, or such as these, were the angels to whom the Spirit of God writ hortatory and commendatory letters, such whom Christ held in his right hand, and fixed them in the churches like lights set on a candlestick, that they might give shine to the whole house.

The sum of all is this; that Christ did institute apostles and presbyters, or seventy-two disciples. To the apostles he gave a plenitude of power; for the whole commission was given to them in as great and comprehensive clauses as were imaginable; for, by virtue of it, they received a power of giving the Holy Ghost in confirmation, and of giving his grace in the collation of holy orders, a power of jurisdiction and authority to govern the Church: and this power was not 'temporary,' but 'successive' and 'perpetual,' and was intended as an 'ordinary' office in the Church, so that the 'successors' of the

[q] Lib. iv. cc. 10, 15.
[r] Epist. ad Polycarp.
[s] De Præscrip.
[t] Vide Aretha in Apoc. i.
[u] Lib. iv. c. 26.

apostles had the same right and institution that the apostles themselves had; and though the personal mission was not immediate, as of the apostles it was, yet the commission and institution of the function was all one. But to the Seventy-two Christ gave no commission but of 'preaching,' which was a very limited commission. There was all the immediate Divine institution of presbyterate, as a distinct order, that can be fairly pretended. But yet further, these Seventy-two the apostles did admit "in partem solicitudinis," and, by new ordination or delegation apostolical, did give them power of administering sacraments, of absolving sinners, of governing the Church in conjunction and subordination to the apostles, of which they had a capacity, by Christ's calling them at first "in sortem ministerii;" but the exercise, and the actuating of this capacity, they had from the apostles. So that, not by Divine ordination, or immediate commission from Christ, but by derivation from the apostles, and, therefore, in minority and subordination to them, the presbyters did exercise acts of order and jurisdiction in the absence of the apostles or bishops, or in conjunction consiliary, and by way of advice, or before the consecration of a bishop to a particular church. And all this I doubt not, but was done by the direction of the Holy Ghost, as were all other acts of apostolical ministration, and particularly the institution of the other order, viz. of deacons. This is all that can be proved out of Scripture, concerning the commission given in the institution of presbyters; and this I shall afterwards confirm by the practice of the Catholic Church, and so vindicate the practices of the present Church from the common prejudices that disturb us; for, by this account, episcopacy is not only a Divine institution, but the only order that derives immediately from Christ.

For the present only, I sum up this with that saying of Theodoret, speaking of the seventy-two disciples. "Palmæ sunt isti qui nutriuntur ac erudiuntur ab apostolis. Nam quanquam Christus hos etiam elegit, erant tamen duodecim illis inferiores, et postea illorum discipuli et sectatores;—The apostles are the twelve fountains, and the LXXII are the palms that are nourished by the waters of those fountains. For though Christ also ordained the LXXII, yet they were

inferior to the apostles, and afterwards were their followers and disciples."[x]

I know no objection to hinder a conclusion; only two or three words out of Ignatius are pretended against the main question, viz. to prove that he, although a bishop, yet had no apostolical authority, οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι·—"I do not command this as an apostle, (for what am I, and what is my father's house, that I should compare myself with them?), but as your fellow-soldier and a monitor."[y] But this answers itself, if we consider to whom he speaks it. Not to his own Church of Antioch, for there he might command as an apostle, but to the Philadelphians he might not, they were no part of his diocese, he was not 'their' apostle, and then because he did not equal the apostles in their commission extraordinary, in their personal privileges, and in their universal jurisdiction, therefore he might not command the Philadelphians, being another bishop's charge, but admonish them with the freedom of a Christian bishop, to whom the souls of all faithful people were dear and precious. So that still episcopacy and apostolate may be all one in ordinary office; this hinders not, and I know nothing else pretended, and that antiquity is clearly on this side is the next business.

For hitherto the discourse hath been of the 'immediate Divine institution' of episcopacy, by arguments derived from Scripture; I shall only add two more from antiquity, and so pass on to tradition apostolical.

SECTION X.

So that Bishops are Successors in the Office of Apostleship, according to the general Tenent of Antiquity.

1. THE belief of the Primitive Church is, that bishops are the ordinary successors of the apostles, and presbyters of the Seventy-two, and therefore, did believe that episcopacy is as truly of Divine institution as the apostolate, for the ordinary office both of one and the other is the same thing. For

[x] In Lucam. c. 1. [y] Epist. ad Philadelph.

this there is abundant testimony. Some I shall select, enough to give fair evidence of a catholic tradition.

St. Irenæus is very frequent and confident in this particular, " Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos. ——Etenim si recondita mysteria scîssent apostoli, his vel maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant—quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes :—We can name the men the apostles made bishops in their several churches, appointing them their successors, and most certainly those mysterious secrets of Christianity which themselves knew, they would deliver to them, to whom they committed the churches, and left to be their successors in the same power and authority themselves had."[a]

Tertullian reckons Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and others, to be churches apostolical, " apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsident :—Apostolical they are from their foundation, and by their succession, for the apostles did found them, and apostles or men of apostolic authority still do govern them."[b]

St. Cyprian: " Hoc enim vel maximè, frater, et laboramus et laborare debemus, ut unitatem à Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantùm possumus obtinere curemus :—We must preserve the unity commanded us by Christ, and delivered by his apostles to us, their successors."[c] 'To us, Cyprian and Cornelius,' for they only were then in view, the one bishop of Rome, the other of Carthage. And in his epistle " ad Florentium Pupianum :" " Nec hæc jacto, sed dolens profero, cum te judicem Dei constituas et Christi, qui dicit ad apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt, Qui vos audit, me audit," &c.—" Christ said to his apostles, and in them to the governors or bishops of his Church, who succeeded the apostles as vicars in their absence, He that heareth you, heareth me."[d]

Famous is that saying of Clarus à Musculâ, the bishop, spoken in the Council of Carthage, and repeated by St. Austin: " Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi

[a] Lib. c. iii. [b] Lib. de Præscript. c. xxxvi.
[c] Epist. 42. ad Cornelium. [d] Epist. 69.

apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus eâdem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. Nos successimus :—We succeed the apostles, governing the Church by the same power." [e] He spake it in full council, in an assembly of bishops, and himself was a bishop.

The Council of Rome under St. Sylvester, speaking of the honour due to bishops, expresses it thus : " Non oportere quemquam Domini discipulis, id est, apostolorum successoribus detrahere ;—No man must detract from the disciples of our Lord, that is, from the apostles' successors."

St. Jerome, speaking against the Montanists for undervaluing their bishops, shews the difference of the Catholics' honouring, and the heretics' disadvantaging that sacred order. [f] " Apud nos," saith he, " apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est ;—Bishops with us [Catholics] have the place or authority of apostles, but with them [Montanists] bishops are not the first but the third state of men." And upon that of the Psalmist, " Pro patribus nati sunt tibi filii," St. Jerome, and divers others of the fathers, make this gloss ; " Pro patribus apostolis filii episcopi, ut episcopi apostolis, tanquam filii patribus, succedant :—The apostles are fathers, instead of whom bishops do succeed, whom God hath appointed to be made rulers in all lands." So St. Jerome, St. Austin, and Euthymius, upon the 44th psalm, aliàs 45th.

But St. Austin, for his own particular, makes good use of his succeeding the apostles, which would do very well now also to be considered : " Si solis apostolis dixit, Qui vos spernit me spernit, spernite nos ; si autem sermo ejus pervenit ad nos, et vocavit nos, et in eorum loco constituit nos, videte ne spernatis nos." [g] It was good counsel not to despise bishops, for they, being in the apostles' places and offices, are concerned and protected by that saying, " He that despiseth you, despiseth me." I said it was good counsel, especially if, besides all these, we will take also St. Chrysostom's testimony, " Potestas anathematizandi ab apostolis ad successores eorum nimirum episcopos transit ;—A power

[e] Lib. vii. c. 43, de Baptis. cont. Donatist. [f] Epist. 54.
[g] De verbis Dom. serm. 24.

of anathematizing delinquents is derived from the apostles to their successors, even to bishops."

St. Ambrose, upon that of St. Paul, Ephes. iv. "Quosdam dedit apostolos, apostoli episcopi sunt;—He hath given apostles, that is, he hath given some bishops."[h] That is downright, and this came not by chance from him; he doubles his assertion. "Caput itaque in ecclesiâ apostolis posuit, qui legati Christi sunt, sicut dicit idem apostolus, 'pro quo legatione fungimur.' Ipsi sunt episcopi, firmante istud Petro apostolo, et dicente inter cætera de Judâ, Et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter."[i] And a third time: "Numquid omnes apostoli? verum est; quia in ecclesiâ unus est episcopus." Bishop and apostle was all one with St. Ambrose, when he spake of their ordinary offices; which puts me in mind of the fragment of Polycrates, of the martyrdom of Timothy in Photius: Ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφησίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται·[k]—"The apostle Timothy was ordained bishop in the metropolis of Ephesus, by St. Paul, and there enthroned." To this purpose are those compellations and titles of bishopricks usually in antiquity. St. Basil calls a bishoprick, προεδρίαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, and προεδρίαν ἀποστολικήν. So Theodoret, "an apostolical presidency." The sum is the same which St. Peter himself taught the Church, as St. Clement, his scholar, or some other primitive man in his name, reports of him. "Episcopos ergo vicem apostolorum gerere Dominum docuisse dicebat, et reliquorum discipulorum vicem tenere presbyteros debere insinuabat;—He [Peter] said that our Lord taught, that bishops were to succeed in the place of the apostles, and presbyters in the place of the disciples."[l] Who desires to be further satisfied concerning catholic consent for bishops' succession to apostles in their order and ordinary office, he may see it in Pacianus, the renowned bishop of Barcinona,[m] in St. Gregory,[n] St. John Damascen,[o] in St. Sextus the First, his second decretal epistle, and most plentifully in St. Cœlestine writing to the Ephesine Council,[p] in the epistle of Anacletus de Patriarchis

[h] In Ephes. iv. In 1 Cor. xii. 28.
[i] In verse 29, ibid.
[k] Biblioth. Phot. n. 254.
[l] Lib. iv. c. 18. Epist. 1.
[m] Epist. 1. ad Sempron.
[n] Homil. 26. in Evang.
[o] Orat. 2. de Imagin.
[p] Epist. 7.

et Primatibus,[q] &c. In Isidore,[r] and in Venerable Bede.[s] His words are these: "Sicut duodecim apostolos formam episcoporum exhibere simul et demonstrare nemo est qui dubitet: sic et 72 figuram presbyterorum gessisse sciendum est, tametsi primis ecclesiæ temporibus, ut apostolica Scriptura testis est, utrique presbyteri, et utrique vocabantur episcopi, quorum unum scientiæ maturitatem, aliud industriam curæ pastoralis significat. Sunt ergo jure Divino episcopi à presbyteris prælatione distincti:—As no man doubts but apostles were the order of bishops; so the seventy-two of presbyters, though at first they had names in common. Therefore, bishops by Divine right are distinct from presbyters, and their prelates or superiors."

SECTION XI.

And particularly of St. Peter.

To the same issue drive all those testimonies of antiquity, that call all bishops 'ex æquo,' successors of St. Peter. So St. Cyprian: "Dominus noster, cujus præcepta metuere et observare debemus, episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in evangelio, loquitur et dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, &c. Inde per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur," &c.—"When our blessed Saviour was ordering his Church, and instituting episcopal dignity, he said to Peter: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church.' Hence comes the order of bishops, and the constitution or being of the Church, that the Church be founded upon bishops,"[a] &c.

The same also St. Jerome intimates, "Non est facile stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri;—It is not a small thing to stand in the place of Paul, to obtain the degree of Peter."[b] So he, while he dissuades Heliodorus from taking on him the great burden of the episcopal office. "Pasce oves meas," said Christ to Peter; and "Feed the flock of God, which is

[q] Habetur Can. in Novo distinct. 21.
[r] In Synod. Hispal.
[s] Lib. iii. c. 15. super Lucam.
[a] Epist. 27. ad Lapsos.
[b] Epist. 1.

amongst you," said St. Peter, to the bishops of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. "Similia enim successoribus suis Petrus scripsit præcepta," saith Theodoret: "St. Peter gave the same precepts to his successors, which Christ gave to him."[c] And St. Ephrem, speaking of St. Basil, the bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia, "Et sicut rursus Petrus Ananiam et Sapphiram fraudantes de pretio agri enecavit: ita et Basilius, locum Petri obtinens ejusque pariter authoritatem libertatemque participans, suam ipsius promissionem fraudantem Valentem redarguit, ejusque filium morte mulctavit:—As St. Peter did to Ananias and Sapphira, so Basil did to Valens and his son, for the same delinquency: for he had the place, liberty, and authority of St. Peter."

Thus Gaudentius, of Brixia, calls St. Ambrose the successor of St. Peter; and Gildas, surnamed the Wise, saith, "that all evil bishops whatsoever, do, with unhallowed and unclean feet, usurp the seat of St. Peter."[d] But this thing is of catholic belief, and of this use. If the order and office of the apostolate be eternal, and to be succeeded in, and this office superior to presbyters; and not only of Divine institution, but, indeed, the only order which can clearly shew an immediate Divine commission for its power and authority, (as I have proved of the function apostolical); then those which do succeed the apostles in the ordinary office of apostolate, have the same institution and authority the apostles had; as much as the successors of the presbyters have with the first presbyters, and perhaps more.

For, in the apostolical ordinations, they did not proceed as the Church since hath done. Themselves had the whole priesthood, the whole commission of the ecclesiastical power, and all the offices. Now they, in their ordaining assistant ministers, did not in every ordination give a distinct order, as the Church hath done since the apostles. For they ordained some to distinct offices, some to particular places; some to one part, some to another part of clerical employment; as St. Paul, who was an apostle, yet was ordained by imposition of hands, to go to the churches of the uncircumcision; so was Barnabas, St. John, and James, and Cephas, to the

[c] Lib. xii. Thess. cap. 13. Orat. de Laud. Basil.

[d] Tract. prima Die suæ Ordinat. Biblioth. SS. PP. tom. v. in Eccles. Ord. increpat.

circumcision: and there was scarce any public design or grand employment, but the apostolic men had a new ordination to it, a new imposition of hands; as is evident in the Acts of the Apostles. So that the apostolical ordinations of the inferior clergy, were only a giving of particular commissions to particular men, to officiate such parts of the apostolical calling as they would please to employ them in. Nay, sometimes their ordinations were only a delivering of jurisdiction, when the persons ordained had the order before: as it is evident in the case of Paul and Barnabas.* Of the same consideration is the institution of deacons to spiritual offices; and it is very pertinent to this question. For there is no Divine institution for these rising higher than apostolical ordinance; and so much there is for presbyters, as they are now authorised; for such power the apostles gave to presbyters as they have now, and sometimes more, as to Judas and Silas, and divers others; who, therefore, were more than mere presbyters, as the word is now used.

The result is this: The office and order of a presbyter is but part of the office and order of an apostle; so is a deacon, a lesser part; so is an evangelist; so is a prophet; so is a doctor; so is a helper, or a surrogate in government. But these will not be called orders; every one of them will not, I am sure; at least, not made distinct orders by Christ. For it was in the apostles' power to give any one, or all these powers, to any one man; or to distinguish them into so many men as there are offices, or to unite more or fewer of them. All these, I say, clearly make not distinct orders; and why are not all of them of the same consideration? I would be answered from grounds of Scripture; for there we fix, as yet.

Indeed the apostles did ordain such men, and scattered their power at first; for there was so much employment in any one of them, as to require one man for one office. But a while after, they united all the lesser parts of power into two sorts of men, whom the Church hath since distinguished by the names of presbyters and deacons, and called them two distinct orders. But yet, if we speak properly and according to the exigence of Divine institution, there is 'unum sacer-

* Acts, xiii.

dotium,—one priesthood' appointed by Christ; and that was the commission given by Christ to his apostles, and to their successors precisely; and those other offices of presbyter and deacon are but members of the great priesthood; and although the power of it is all of Divine institution, as the power to baptize, to preach, to consecrate, to absolve, to minister; yet that so much of it should be given to one sort of men, so much less to another, that is only of apostolical ordinance. For the apostles might have given to some only a power to absolve, to some only to consecrate, to some only to baptize. We see, that to deacons they did so. They had only a power to baptize and preach; whether all evangelists had so much or no, Scripture doth not tell us.

But if to some men they had only given a power to use the keys, or made them officers spiritual, to 'restore such as are overtaken in a fault,' and not to consecrate the eucharist; (for we see these powers are distinct, and not relative and of necessary conjunction, no more than baptizing and consecrating;) whether or no have those men, who have only a power of absolving or consecrating respectively; whether (I say) have they the order of a presbyter? If yea, then now every priest hath two orders, besides the order of deacon; for, by the power of consecration, he hath the power of a presbyter; and what is he, then, by his other power? But if such a man, ordained with but one of these powers, have not the order of a presbyter; then let any man shew me where it is ordained by Christ, or indeed by the apostles, that an order of clerks should be constituted with both these powers, and that these were called presbyters. I only leave this to be considered.

But all the apostolical power we find instituted by Christ; and we also find a necessity, that all that power should be succeeded in, and that all that power should be united in one order; for he that hath the highest, viz. a power of ordination, must needs have all the other, else he cannot give them to any else; but a power of ordination I have proved to be necessary and perpetual.

So that we have clear evidence of the Divine institution of the perpetual order of apostleship; marry, for the presbyterate, I have not so much either reason or confidence for it, as now it is in the Church; but for the apostolate, it is beyond ex-

ception. And to this bishops do succeed. For that it is so, I have proved from Scripture; and because "no Scripture is of private interpretation," I have attested it with the catholic testimony of the primitive fathers, — calling episcopacy, the apostolate; and bishops, successors of St. Peter in particular; and of all the apostles in general, in their ordinary offices, in which they were superior to the Seventy-two, the antecessors of the presbyterate.

One objection I must clear. For sometimes presbyters are also called apostles, and successors of the apostles; as in Ignatius, in Irenæus, in St. Jerome. I answer:

1. They are not called "successores apostolorum," by any dogmatical resolution or interpretation of Scripture, as the bishops are, in the examples above alleged; but by allusion and participation, at the most. For true it is, that they succeed the apostles in the offices of baptizing, consecrating, and absolving, "in privato foro;" but this is but part of the apostolical power, and no part of their office, as apostles were superior to presbyters.

2. It is observable, that presbyters are never affirmed to succeed in the power and regiment of the Church, but in subordination and derivation from the bishop; and, therefore, they are never said to succeed, "in cathedris apostolorum, — in the apostolic sees."

3. The places which I have specified, and they are all I could ever meet with, are of peculiar answer. For as for Ignatius, in his epistle to the Church of Trallis,[f] he calls the presbytery, or company of priests, 'the college,' or 'combination of apostles.' But here St. Ignatius, as he lifts up the presbyters to a comparison with apostles, so he also raises the bishop to the similitude and resemblance with God. "Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit; presbyteri verò sunt conjunctus apostolorum cœtus." So that, although presbyters grow high, yet they do not overtake the bishops, or apostles; who also, in the same proportion, grow higher than their first station. This, then, will do no hurt.

As for St. Irenæus, he, indeed, does say, that presbyters succeed the apostles; but what presbyters he means, he tells us; even such presbyters as were also bishops, such as St.

[f] Idem fere habet in Epist. ad Magnes. et Smyrnens.

Peter and St. John were, who call themselves presbyters. His words are these: "Propterea eis qui in ecclesiâ sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ad apostolis, qui cum episcopatûs successione charisma veritatis certum secundùm placitum Patris acceperunt."[g] And a little after: "Tales presbyteros nutrit ecclesia, de quibus et propheta ait, Et dabo principes tuos in pace, et episcopos tuos in justitiâ."[h] So that he gives testimony for us, not against us. As for St. Jerome, the third man, he, in the succession to the honour of the apostolate, joins presbyters with bishops; and that is right enough; for if the bishop alone does succeed, 'in plenitudinem potestatis apostolicæ ordinariæ,'[i] as I have proved he does, then, also, it is as true of the bishop, together with his 'consessus presbyterorum.' "Episcopi presbyteri habeant in exemplum apostolos et apostolicos viros; quorum honorem possidentes, habere nitantur et meritum:" these are his words, and enforce not so much as may be safely granted; for 'reddendo singula singulis,' bishops succeed apostles, and presbyters, apostolic men; and such were many that had not at first any power apostolical: and that is all that can be inferred from this place of St. Jerome. I know nothing else to stay me, or to hinder our assent to those authorities of Scripture I have alleged, and the full voice of traditive interpretation.

SECTION XII.

And the Institution of Episcopacy, as well as the Apostolate, expressed to be Divine, by primitive Authority.

The second argument from antiquity is the direct testimony of the fathers for a 'Divine institution.' In this St. Cyprian is most plentiful: "Dominus noster, episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in evangelio, dicit Petro,[a] &c. Inde per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cùm hoc itaque Divinâ lege fundatum sit," &c.

[g] Lib. iv. c. 43. [h] Cap. xliv. [i] Epist. 13. [a] Epist. 27.

"Our Lord did institute in the Gospel the honour of a bishop. Hence comes the ordination of bishops; and the Church is built upon them, and every action of the Church is to be governed by them; and this is founded upon a Divine law." "Meminisse autem diaconi debent quoniam apostolos, *i. e.* episcopos, et præpositos Dominus elegit:—Our Lord hath chosen apostles, that is, bishops and Church governors."[b] And a little after: "Quòd si nos aliquid audere contra Deum possumus qui episcopos facit, possunt et contra nos audere diaconi, à quibus fiunt:—We must not attempt any thing against God, who hath instituted bishops." The same father, in his epistle to Magnus, disputes against Novatianus's being a bishop: "Novatianus in ecclesiâ non est, nec episcopus computari potest, qui evangelicâ et apostolicâ traditione contemptâ, nemini succedens à seipso ordinatus est."[c] If there was both an evangelical and an apostolic tradition, for the successive ordination of bishops by other bishops (as St. Cyprian affirms there is, by saying 'Novatianus contemned it'), then, certainly, the same evangelical power did institute that calling, for the modus of whose election it took such particular order.

St. Ignatius, long before him, speaking concerning his absent friend, Sotion, the deacon, οὗ ἐγὼ ἀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. He wishes for the good man's company, because, "by the grace of God, and according to the law of Jesus Christ, he was obedient to the bishop and his clergy."[d]—And a little after: Πρέπον οὖν ἐστι καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν· οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον παρὰ τίνος παραλογισθῆναι· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο, οὐ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεόν, ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν. It is home enough. "Ye ought to obey your bishop, and to contradict him in nothing." It is a fearful thing to contradict him; for whosoever does so, "does not mock a visible man, but the invisible, undeceivable God. For this contumely relates not to man, but to God." So St. Ignatius; which could not be true, were it a human constitution, and no Divine ordinance. But more full are those words of his, in his epistle to the Ephesians: Σπουδάσατε ἀγαπητοὶ ὑποταγῆναι

[b] Epist. 65. ad Rogatian. [c] Epist. 76. [d] Epist. ad Magnes.

τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις· ὁ γὰρ τούτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προχειρισαμένῳ αὐτούς.—"He that obeys the bishop and clergy, obeys Christ, who did constitute and ordain them." This is plain and dogmatical; I would be loath to have two men so famous, so ancient, and so resolute, speak half so much against us.

But it is a general resolve, and no private opinion. For St. Austin is confident in the case with a "Nemo ignorat episcopos Salvatorem ecclesiis instituisse. Ipse enim priusquam in cœlos ascenderet, imponens manum apostolis, ordinavit eos episcopos;—No man is so ignorant but he knows that our blessed Saviour appointed bishops over churches; for before his ascension into heaven, he ordained the apostles to be bishops."[e] But long before him,

Hegesippus, going to Rome, and by the way calling in at Corinth, and divers other churches, discoursed with their several bishops, and found them catholic and holy, and then stayed at Rome three successions of bishops, Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius. "Sed in omnibus istis ordinationibus, vel in cæteris quas per reliquas urbes videram, ita omnia habebantur, sicut lex antiquitùs tradidit, et prophetæ indicaverunt, 'Et Dominus statuit:'—All things in these ordinations or successions were as our Lord had appointed."[f] All things, therefore, both of doctrine and discipline, and therefore the ordinations themselves too. Further yet, and it is worth observing, there was never any bishop of Rome, from St. Peter to St. Sylvester, that ever writ a decretal epistle now extant and transmitted to us, but, either professedly or accidentally he said or intimated, "that the order of bishops did come from God."

St. Irenæus, speaking of bishops successors to the apostles, saith, that, with their order of bishoprick, they have received "charisma veritatis certum,—a true, and certain or indelible character;" "secundum placitum Patris,—according to the will of God the Father."[g] And this also is the doctrine of St. Ambrose: "Ideò quanquam melior apostolus aliquando tamen eget prophetis; et quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos episcopos singulis ecclesiis præesse decrevit;—God,

[e] Quæst. Vet. et N. Testam. qu. 97.
[f] Euseb. lib. iv. c. 29. [g] Lib. iv. c. 43.

from whom all good things do come, did decree that every church should be governed by a bishop."[h] And again: "Honor igitur, fratres, et sublimitas episcopalis, nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari; si regum fulgori compares,"[i] &c. And a little after: "Quid jam de plebeiâ dixerim multitudine, cui non solùm præferri à Domino meruit, sed ut eam quoque jure tueatur patrio, præceptis imperatum est evangelicis;—The honour and sublimity of the bishop is an incomparable pre-eminence, and is by God set over the people; and it is commanded by the precept of the holy Gospel, that he should guide them by a father's right." And in the close of his discourse: "Sic certè à Domino ad B. Petrum dicitur, 'Petre, amas me?'—repetitum est à Domino tertiò, 'Pasce oves meas.' Quas oves, et quem gregem non solùm tunc B. suscepit Petrus, sed et cum illo nos suscepimus omnes;—Our blessed Lord committed his sheep to St. Peter to be fed, and in him we (who have pastoral or episcopal authority) have received the same authority and commission." Thus also divers of the fathers, speaking of the ordination of St. Timothy to be bishop, and of St. Paul's intimation, that it was by prophecy, affirm it to be done by order of the Holy Ghost. Τί ἐστιν διὰ προφητείας; διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, saith St. Chrysostom;[k] "He was ordained by prophecy, that is, by the Holy Ghost." Ὁ Θεός σε ἐξελέξατο· οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γέγονας ψήφῳ,—"Thou wert not made bishop by human constitution." Πνεύματος προστάξει, so Oecumenius. "By Divine revelation," saith Theodoret. "By the command of the Holy Ghost," so Theophylact; and indeed so St. Paul, to the assembly of elders and bishops met at Miletus, "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos;—The Holy Ghost hath made you bishops:"[l] and to be sure St. Timothy was amongst them, and he was a bishop, and so were divers others there present; therefore the order itself is a ray streaming from the Divine beauty, since a single person was made bishop by revelation. I might multiply authorities in this particular, which are very frequent and confident for the Divine institution of episcopacy, in Origen;[m] in the Council of Carthage, recorded by St. Cyprian; in the collection of the Oriental canons by Martinus Bracarensis;[n]

[h] In 1 Cor. xii.
[i] De Dignit. Sacerd. cap. ii.
[k] Homil. 4. Græc. 5. Lat. in 1 Tim. cap. iii. In Tit. i.
[l] Acts, xx.
[m] Hom. 32. in Johan.
[n] Can. vi.

in the Councils of Aquisgrane[o] and Toledo,[p] and many more. The sum is that which was taught by St. Sextus:[q] "Apostolorum dispositione, ordinante Domino, episcopi primitùs sunt constituti;—The Lord did at first ordain, and the apostles did so order it, and so bishops at first had their original constitution."

These, and all the former who affirm bishops to be successors of the apostles, and by consequence to have the same institution, drive all to the same issue, and are sufficient to make faith, that it was the doctrine primitive and catholic that episcopacy is a Divine institution, which 'Christ planted' in the first founding of Christendom, which the 'Holy Ghost watered' in his first descent on Pentecost, and to which we are confident that 'God will give an increase' by a never-failing succession, unless where God removes the candlestick, or which is all one, takes away the star, the angel of light, from it, that it may be enveloped in darkness "usque ad consummationem sæculi et aperturam tenebrarum." The conclusion of all, I subjoin in the words of Venerable Bede before quoted: "Sunt ergo jure Divino episcopi à presbyteris prælatione distincti;—Bishops are distinct from presbyters, and superior to them by the law of God."[r]

The second basis of episcopacy is 'apostolical tradition.' We have seen what Christ did, now we shall see what was done by his apostles. And since they knew their Master's mind so well, we can never better confide in any argument to prove Divine institution of a derivative authority than the practice apostolical. "Apostoli enim, discipuli veritatis existentes, extra omne mendacium sunt; non enim communicat mendacium veritati, sicut non communicant tenebræ luci, sed præsentia alterius excludit alterum," saith St. Irenæus.[s]

[o] Can. xxv. [p] Octavum, can. vii. [q] Epist. 2.
[r] Lib. iii. in Lucam, c. 15. [s] Lib. iii. cap. 5.

SECTION XIII.

In Pursuance of the Divine Institution, the Apostles did ordain Bishops in several Churches.

First, then: the apostles did, presently after the ascension, fix an apostle or a bishop in the chair of Jerusalem. For they knew that Jerusalem was shortly to be destroyed; they themselves foretold of miseries and desolations to ensue; ("Petrus et Paulus prædicunt cladem Hierosolymitanam," saith Lactantius, lib. iv. Inst.) famines and wars, and not a stone left upon another, was the fate of that rebellious city by Christ's own prediction, which themselves recorded in Scripture. And to say they understood not what they wrote, is to make them enthusiasts, and neither good doctors nor wise seers. But it is ἴξω βίλους that the Holy Spirit, which was promised "to lead them into all truth," would instruct them in so concerning an issue of public affairs, as was so great desolation; and therefore they began betimes to establish that Church, and to fix it upon its perpetual base. Secondly: the Church of Jerusalem was to be the precedent and platform for other churches. "The word of God went forth into all the world, beginning first at Jerusalem;" and, therefore, also it was more necessary a bishop should be there placed betimes, that other churches might see their government from whence they received their doctrine, that they might see from what stars their continual flux of light must stream. Thirdly: the apostles were actually dispersed by persecution, and this, to be sure, they looked for, and therefore (so implying the necessity of a bishop to govern in their absence or decession any ways) they ordained St. James the first bishop of Jerusalem; there he fixed his chair, there he lived bishop for thirty years, and finished his course with glorious martyrdom. If this be proved, we are in a fair way for practice apostolical.

First: Let us see all that is said of St. James in Scripture, that may concern this affair. Acts, xv. We find St. James in the synod at Jerusalem, not disputing, but giving final determination to that great question about circumcision.

"And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said," &c. He first drave the question to an issue, and told them what he believed concerning it, with a πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι, 'we trust it will go as well with us without circumcision, as with our forefathers who used it.' But St. James, when he had summed up what had been said by St. Peter, gave sentence and final determination: Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω,—"Wherefore I judge or give sentence." So he. The acts of council which the brethren or presbyters did use, were deliberative; "they disputed," ver. 7. St. Peter's act was declarative, but St. James's was decisive; which proves him clearly (if, by reasonableness of the thing, and the successive practice of Christendom in imitation of this first council apostolical, we may take our estimate), that St. James was the president of this synod; which, considering that he was none of the twelve (as I proved formerly), is unimaginable, were it not for the advantage of the place, it being held in Jerusalem, where he was "Hierosolymorum episcopus," as St. Clement calls him; especially in the presence of St. Peter, who was "primus apostolus," and decked with many personal privileges and prerogatives.

Add to this, that although the whole council did consent to the sending of the decretal epistle, and to send Judas and Silas, yet because they were of the presbytery, and college of Jerusalem, St. James's clergy, they are said, as by way of appropriation, to come from St. James, Gal. ii. ver. 12. Upon which place St. Austin saith thus: "Cùm vidisset quosdam venisse à Jacobo, *i. e.* à Judæâ, nam ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ Jacobus præfuit." To this purpose that of Ignatius is very pertinent, calling St. Stephen the deacon of St. James,[a] and, in his epistle to Hero, saying that he did minister to St. James and the presbyters of Jerusalem; which if we expound according to the known discipline of the Church in Ignatius's time, who was "suppar apostolorum," only not a contemporary bishop, here is plainly the eminence of an episcopal chair, and Jerusalem, the seat of St. James, and the clergy his own, of a college of which he was the "præpositus ordinarius," he was their 'ordinary.'

The second evidence of Scripture is Acts, xxi. "And when

[a] Epist. ad Trall.

we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly, and the day following Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present." Why unto James? Why not rather unto the presbytery, or college of elders, if James did not 'eminere,' were not the ἡγούμενος, the 'præpositus' or 'bishop' of them all?

Now that these conjectures are not vain and impertinent, see it testified by antiquity, to which, in matter of fact and church-story, he that will not give faith upon current testimonies, and uncontradicted by antiquity, is a madman, and may as well disbelieve every thing that he hath not seen himself, and can no way prove that himself was christened; and to be sure, after sixteen hundred years there is no possibility to disprove a matter of fact, that was never questioned or doubted of before, and therefore can never obtain the faith of any man to his contradictory, it being impossible to prove it.

Eusebius reports out of St. Clement: Πέτρον γάρ φησι καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου τετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν Δίκαιον, ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι·[b]—"St. Peter and St. John, although they were honoured of our Lord, yet they would not themselves be, but made James, surnamed the Just, bishop of Jerusalem." And the reason is that which is given by Hegesippus in Eusebius for his successor Simeon Cleophæ; for when St. James was crowned with martyrdom, and immediately the city destroyed, "Traditur apostolos qui supererant, in commune consilium habuisse, quem oportere dignum successione Jacobi judicare."[c] It was concluded for Simeon, because he was the kinsman of our Lord, as St. James also, his predecessor. The same concerning St. James is also repeated by Eusebius: "Judæi ergo, cùm Paulus provocâsset ad Cæsarem—in Jacobum fratrem Domini, 'cui ab apostolis sedes Hierosolymitana delata fuit,' omnem suam malevolentiam convertunt."[d]

In the Apostolical Constitutions under the name of St. Clement, the apostles are brought in speaking thus: "De ordinatis autem à nobis episcopis in vitâ nostrâ, significamus vobis quòd hi sunt; Hierosolymis ordinatus est Jacobus frater

[b] Lib. ii. Hist. cap. 1. [c] Lib. iii. c. 11. [d] Lib. ii. c. 22.

Domini: — St. James, the brother of our Lord, was ordained bishop of Jerusalem by us,"[e] apostles. The same is witnessed by Anacletus: "Porrò et Hierosolymitarum primus episcopus B. Jacobus, qui Justus dicebatur, et secundùm carnem Domini nuncupatus est frater, à Petro, Jacobo, et Johanne, apostolis, est ordinatus."[f] And the same thing in terms is repeated by Anicetus, with a "Scimus enim beatissimum Jacobum,"[g] &c. Just as Anacletus before. St. James was bishop of Jerusalem, and Peter, James, and John, were his ordainers.

But let us see the testimony of one of St. James's successors in the same chair, who certainly was the best witness of his own church-records. St. Cyril of Jerusalem is the man. "Nam de his non mihi solùm, sed etiam apostolis, et 'Jacobo hujus ecclesiæ olim episcopo' cura fuit,"[h] speaking of the question of circumcision, and things sacrificed to idols; and again he calls St. James, "primum hujus parochiæ episcopum;—the first bishop of this diocese."[i]

St. Austin also attests this story. "Cathedra tibi quid fecit ecclesiæ, in quâ Petrus sedit, et in quâ hodiè Anastasius sedet? Vel ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ 'in quâ Jacobus sedit,' et in quâ hodiè Johannes sedet?"[k] I must not omit the testimony of St. Jerome, for it will be of great use in the sequel: "Jacobus," saith he, "post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus;" and the same also he repeats out of Hegesippus.[l] There are many more testimonies to this purpose, as of St. Chrysostom,[m] Epiphanius,[n] St. Ambrose,[o] the Council of Constantinople in Trullo.[p] But Gregorius Turonensis rises a little higher: "Jacobus, frater Domini vocitatus, ab ipso Domino nostro Jesu Christo episcopus dicitur ordinatus: — St. James, the brother of our Lord, is said to have been ordained bishop by our Lord Jesus Christ himself."[q] If by 'ordinatus' he means 'designatus,' he agrees with St. Chrysostom: but either of them both will

[e] Lib. vii. c. 46; et lib. viii. cap. ult. [f] Epist. 2.
[g] Epist. Decret. Unic. [h] Catech. 4. [i] Catech. 16.
[k] Lib. ii. cont. Lit. Petil. c. 51; et lib. ii. cont. Crescon. c. 37.
[l] Lib. de Script. Eccles. in Jacobo.
[m] Hom. 38. in 1 Cor. xv.; et 33. Hom. in Act. xv.
[n] Hæres. 66. [o] In Galat. i. [p] Cap. iii. 3.
[q] Hom. 3. in Act.

serve the turn for the present. But, either in one sense or the other, it is true, and attested also by Epiphanius; "Et primus hic accepit cathedram episcopatûs, cui concredidit Dominus thronum suum in terra primò: — St. James had first the episcopal chair, for our Lord first intrusted his earthly throne to him."[r] And thus we are encircled with a cloud of witnesses; to all which if we add what I before observed, that St. James is in Scripture called an apostle, and yet he was none of the twelve, and that, in the sense of Scripture and the catholic Church, a bishop and an apostle is all one,—it follows from the premises (and of them already there is faith enough made), that St. James was, by Christ's own designation and ordination apostolical, made bishop of the Church of Jerusalem,—that is, had power apostolical concredited to him which presbyters had not; and this apostolate was limited and fixed, as his successors' since have been.

But that this also was not a temporary business, and to expire with the persons of St. James and the first apostles, but a regiment of ordinary and successive duty in the Church, it appears by the ordination of St. Simeon, the son of Cleophas, to be his successor. It is witnessed by Eusebius: "Post martyrium Jacobi — traditur apostolos, &c. habuisse in commune consilium quem oporteret dignum successione Jacobi judicare; omnesque uno consilio, atque uno consensu, Simeonem Cleophæ filium decrevisse, ut episcopatûs sedem susciperet."[s] The same also he transcribes out of Hegesippus: "Posteaquam Jacobus Martyr effectus est — electione Divinâ Simeon Cleophæ filius episcopus ordinatur, electus ab omnibus pro eo quòd esset consobrinus Domini." St. Simeon was ordained bishop "by a Divine election;"[t] and Epiphanius, in the catalogue of the bishops of Jerusalem, reckons first James, and next Simeon, "qui sub Trajano crucifixus est."[u]

[r] Hæres. 78.
[s] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 11.
[t] Lib. iv. cap. 22.
[u] Hæres. 66.

SECTION XIV.

St. Timothy, at Ephesus.

THE next bishop we find ordained by the apostles, was Timothy, at Ephesus. That he was ordained by an apostle appears in Scripture. For St. Paul imposed hands on him; that is certain; "Excita gratiam, quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum;—By the laying on of my hands."[a] That he was there a bishop, is also apparent from the power and offices concredited to him. First, he was to be resident at Ephesus.[b] And although, for the public necessities of the Church, and for assistance to St. Paul, he might be called sometimes from his charge; yet there he lived and died, as the church-story writes, there was his ordinary residence, and his avocations were but temporary and occasional. And when it was, his cure was supplied by Tychicus, whom St. Paul sent to Ephesus as his vicar, as I shall shew hereafter.

2. St. Paul, in his epistles to him, gave directions to him for episcopal deportment, as is plain; "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife,"[c] &c. Thirdly, St. Paul concredits jurisdiction to St. Timothy. Over the people; παράγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ δίδασκε. Παραγγέλλειν is of as great extent in St. Timothy's commission as διδάσκειν: 'Commanding' as 'teaching.' Over presbyters; but yet so as to make difference between them and the neotericks in Christianity, "the one as fathers, the other as brethren."[d] Ἐπίπληξις is denied to be used towards either of them: ἐπίπληξις, ἐπιτίμησις, saith Suidas, "a dishonourable upbraiding or objurgation." Nay it is more; ἐπιπλήττω is 'castigo, plagam infero,' saith Budæus: so that that kind of rebuking the bishop is forbidden to use, either toward priest or deacon, clergy or laity, old or young. "For a bishop must be no striker." But παρακάλει, that is given him in commission both to old and young, presbyters and catechumens, that is, 'Require them; postula, provoca.' Παρακεκλῆσθαι εἰς συμμαχίαν Synesius; "To be provoked to a duel, to be challenged."

[a] 2 Tim. i. 6. [b] 1 Tim. i. 3.
[c] 1 Tim. iii. [d] 1 Tim. v. 1.

And παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς προσευχήν.—Chrysostom: "Ad precandum vos provoco." Παρακαλεῖς με εἰς δάκρυα.—Eurip. "Thou makest me, or compellest me, to shed tears." 'Suaviter omnia;' That is the way St. Paul takes: 'Meekly,' but yet so as to do his office, to keep all in their several duties, and that is by a παράγγελλε ταῦτα,—"Command these things:" for so he sums up the bishop's duty towards presbyters, neophytes, and widows. "Give all these things in charge,"[e] command all to do their duty. Command, but not objurgate. "Et quid negotii esset episcopo ut presbyterum non objurgaret, si super presbyterum non haberet potestatem?" So Epiphanius urges this argument to advantage.[f] For, indeed, it had been to little purpose for St. Paul to have given order to Timothy, how he should exercise his jurisdiction over presbyters and people, if he had had no jurisdiction and coercive authority at all. Nay, and howsoever St. Paul forbids Timothy to use ἐπιπληξις, which is ἐπιτίμησις, yet St. Paul, in his second epistle, bids him use it, intimating, upon great occasion: Ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλησον.[g] To be sure, παράκλησις, if it be but an urging, or an exhortation, is not all, for St. Paul gives him coercive jurisdiction, as well as directive. Over widows: νεωτέρας δὲ χήρας παραιτοῦ·—"Reject the younger widows," viz. "à collegio viduarum, ab eleemosynis ecclesiæ." Over presbyters; for he commands him to have sufficient probate in the accusation of presbyters, of which if he was not to take cognizance, it was to no purpose to number witnesses. Κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίαν μὴ παραδέχου·—"Receive not a public accusation 'foro externo' against a priest." "Non vocabis in jus, nisi in testimonio duorum," &c. to wit, in causes criminal. That is sufficient intimation of the bishop's power to take cognizance in causes criminal; then for his punishing in such cases, it follows in the next words, τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγχε·—"Reprehend them publicly,"[h] that is, 'disgrace them.' For ἔλεγχος is ἀπρεπίδιστος,—'indecorous.'——Ἀργεῖοι, ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχίστε, οὔ νυ σίζεσθε;—Homer. Iliad. δ. 242. So that ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγχε, in St. Paul, is 'to call them to public account;' that is one part of the jurisdiction. Ἔλεγχον τούτου λαζεῖν is 'to examine.' Plato,

[e] 1 Tim. v. 7.
[f] Hæres. 75.
[g] 2 Tim. iv. 2.
[h] 1 Tim. v. 20.

Epist. διδόναι ἔλεγχον τοῦ βίου,—'to give an account of one's life.' Idem in Apolog. And then also it implies punishment upon conviction,

> Ἀτρείδη, νῦν δή σε, ἄναξ, ἐθέλουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ
> Πᾶσιν ἐλέγχιστον θέμεναι μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσι.—*Hom. C. Iliad.*

But the words in St. Paul will clear the business. "Let them that sin, be publicly shamed," ἵνα καὶ λοιποὶ φόβον ἔχωσι, —"that the rest may fear;" a punishment most certainly, something that is ἐν φύσει τῶν φοβερῶν, 'malum in genere pœnæ.' What else should they fear? to sin? Most true. But why upon this reprehension, if not for fear of being punished?

Add to all this, that here is, in this chapter, the plain giving of a jurisdiction, an erection of a judicatory, and is all the way direction for his proceeding in cases criminal, appears most evidently, verse 21, "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things," χωρὶς προκρίματος, "without prejudging" the cause of any man, before it comes in open contestation under public test of witnesses, μηδὲν ποιῶν κατὰ πρόσκλισιν, "doing nothing for favour or partiality." Nothing in the world is plainer, for the erection of a consistory, than these mandates of St. Paul.

Lastly: to make up his episcopal function complete, St. Paul gives him also direction concerning giving of orders. "Lay hands suddenly on no man."[1] "Sub testatione ergo ea quæ ad ordinationem ecclesiæ mandat custodiri——Nè facilè aliquis accipiat ecclesiasticam dignitatem——peccat enim si non probet et sic ordinet. Melior enim cæteris debet probari qui ordinandus est. Hæc episcopus custodiens, castum se exhibebit religioni, cujus rei in futuro præmium consequetur." So St. Ambrose upon the place, who is so far from exempting presbyters from being submitted to the bishop's consistory, that he does appropriate all his former cautions concerning the judicature and coercive jurisdiction to causes of the clergy.

Add to this evidence of Scripture, the testimony of catholic and unquestioned antiquity, affirming St. Timothy to have been ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul. Eusebius,

[1] 1 Tim. v. 22.

speaking of the successions to St. Paul, "Sed et Lucas,"[j] saith he, "in Actibus Apostolorum plurimos ejus socios memorat, sicut Timothei et Titi, quorum alter in Epheso episcopus —— ab eo ordinatus præficitur."[k] St. Ambrose affirms that St. Paul, having ordained him bishop, writes his first epistle to him, to instruct him in his episcopal office: "Hunc igitur jam creatum episcopum instruit per epistolam, quomodo deberet ecclesiam ordinare."[l] And that this epistle was written to instruct St. Timothy for his own person, and all bishops in him, for their deportment in the office of a bishop, is the united concurrent testimony of St. Vincentius,[m] Tertullian,[n] St. Chrysostom,[o] St. Ambrose,[p] Oecumenius,[q] Epiphanius,[r] Primasius,[s] and St. Gregory.[t] As for Epiphanius, in the place now quoted, he uses it as an argument against the madness and stupidity of Aerius, contending a bishop and a presbyter to be all one: "Docet Divinus apostoli sermo, quis sit episcopus et quis presbyter, quum dicit ad Timotheum, qui erat episcopus, Presbyterum ne objurges," &c. I shall transcribe no more testimonies for this particular, but that of the general Council of Chalcedon, in the case of Bassianus and Stephanus; Leontius, the bishop of Magnesia, spake it in full council, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήθησαν·—"From St. Timothy until now, there have been twenty-seven bishops ordained in Ephesus." Who desires a multitude of testimonies (though enough already have deposed in the cause, besides the evidence of Scripture), may to these add that saying of St. Chrysostom,[u] that to Timothy was committed ἔθνος ἀλλαχόθεν τοῦτο Ἀσίας: of Theodoret, calling him "episcopum Asianorum;" the subscription to the first epistle to Timothy; (which, if it were not writ by St. Paul, yet at least will prove a primitive record, and very ancient,) the fragment of the martyrdom of St. Timothy in Photius, St. Jerome,[x] St. Theophylact,[y] Isidore,[z] and Nicephorus.[a]

And now all is well, if, after all this, Timothy do not

[j] Lib. iii. c. 4. [k] Præfat. in 1 Tim. [l] Cont. Hæres.
[m] Cont. Marcion. lib. v. [n] Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. [o] In 1 Tim. vi.
[p] 1 Tim. iv. 5. [q] Hæres. 75. [r] Ad. 1 Tim. iv.
[s] In Pastor. part. ii. c. 11. Acts, xi.
[t] In Titum et 1 Philip. et in 1 Tim. iii. [u] Biblioth. Photii, n. 254.
[x] De Script. Eccles. [y] In Præf. 1 Tim.
[z] De Vita et Mort. SS. 87, 88. [a] Lib. ii. c. 34. [b] 2 Tim. iv. 5.

prove an evangelist, for this one object will be sufficient to catch at, to support a drowning cause, and though neither pertinent nor true, yet shall be laid in the balance against all the evidence of Scripture and catholic antiquity. But "do the work of an evangelist," saith St. Paul; therefore it is clear St. Timothy was no bishop. No, was not? That is hard: but let us try however.

1. Τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, those are the next words; "fulfil thy deaconship." And, therefore, he was no bishop? As well this as the other; for if deaconship do not exclude episcopacy, why shall his being an evangelist exclude it? Or why may not his being a deacon exclude his being an evangelist, as well as his being an evangelist exclude his being a bishop? Whether is higher, a bishoprick, or the office of an evangelist? If a bishop's office be higher, and, therefore, cannot consist with an evangelist, then a bishop cannot be a priest, and a priest cannot be a deacon, and an evangelist can be neither: for that also is thought to be higher than they both. But if the office of an evangelist be higher, then as long as they are not disparate, much less destructive of each other, they may have leave to consist in subordination. For as for the pretence that an evangelist is an office of a movable employment, and a bishoprick of fixed residence, that will be considered by and by.

2. All the former discourse is upon supposition, that the word διακονία implies the 'office of a deacon;' and so it may, as well as St. Paul's other phrase implies St. Timothy to be an evangelist, for if we mark it well, it is ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ,—"Do the work," not the "office, of an evangelist." And what is that? We may see it in the verses immediately going before, Κήρυξον τὸν λόγον, ἐπίστηθι εὐκαίρως, ἀκαίρως· ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλεσον ἐν πάσῃ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ διδαχῇ. And if this be the work of an evangelist, which St. Paul would have Timothy perform, viz.—"to preach, to be instant in season and out of season, to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort:" there is no harm done; a bishop may, nay, he must do all this.

3. Consider what an 'evangelist' is, and thence take our estimate for the present. 1. He that writes the story of the Gospel is an evangelist; so the Greek scholiast calls him. And in this sense, indeed, St. Timothy was not an evangelist; but yet if he had, he might have been a bishop; because

St. Mark was an evangelist to be sure, and perhaps as sure, that he was a bishop; sure enough; for they are both delivered to us by the catholic testimony of the Primitive Church, as we shall see hereafter, so far as concerns our question. But then again; an apostle might be an evangelist; St. Matthew was; St. John was; and the apostolical dignity is as much inconsistent with the office of an evangelist as episcopal pre-eminence; for I have proved these two names, apostle and bishop, to signify all one thing. Secondly, St. Ambrose gives another exposition of evangelists; "Evangelistæ diaconi sunt, sicut fuit Philippus."[b] St. Philip was one of the seven, commonly called deacons, and he was also a presbyter, and yet an evangelist; and yet a presbyter, in its proportion, is an office of as necessary residence as a bishop, or else why are presbyters cried out against so bitterly, in all cases, for non-residence? and yet nothing hinders, but that St. Timothy, as well as St. Philip, might have been a presbyter and an evangelist together; and then why not a bishop too? For why should a deaconship or a presbyterate consist with the office of an evangelist more than a bishopriek? Thirdly; Another acceptation of an evangelist is also in Eusebius: "Sed et alii plurimi per idem tempus apostolorum discipuli superstites erant — Nonnulli ex his ardentiores divinæ philosophiæ, animas suas verbo Dei consecrabant; ut si quibus fortè provinciis nomen fidei esset incognitum prædicarent, primaque apud eos evangelii fundamenta collocantes, evangelistarum fungebantur officio."[c] They that planted the Gospel 'first' in any country, were evangelists. St. Timothy might be such a one, and yet be a bishop afterwards. And so were some of this sort of evangelists. For so Eusebius: "Primaque apud eos fundamenta evangelii collocantes, atque electis quibusque ex ipsis officium regendæ ecclesiæ, quam fundaverant, committentes, ipsi rursum ad alias gentes properabant." So that they first converted the nation, and then governed the Church; first they were evangelists, and afterward bishops; and so was Austin the monk, that converted England in the time of St. Gregory and Ethelbert; he was first our evangelist, and afterwards bishop of Dover. Nay, why may they not, in this sense, be

[b] In Ephes. iv. [c] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 37.

both evangelists and bishops at the same time? insomuch as many bishops have first planted Christianity in divers countries, as St. Chrysostom in Scythia, St. Trophimus, St. Denis, St. Mark, and many more.[d] By the way only, according to all these acceptations of the word 'evangelist,' this office does not imply a perpetual motion. Evangelists many of them did travel, but they were never the more evangelists for that; but only their office was writing or preaching the Gospel; and thence they had their name.

4. The office of an evangelist was but temporary, and take it in either of the two senses of Eusebius or Œcumenius, which are the only true and genuine, was to expire when Christianity was planted every where, and the office of episcopacy, if it was at all, was to be succeeded in, and therefore in no respect could these be inconsistent, at least, not always. And how St. Paul should intend that Timothy should keep those rules he gave him, "to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,"[e] if the office, for the execution of which he gave him the rules, was to expire long before, is not so easily imagined. For if St. Paul did direct him in a temporary and expiring office, then in no sense, neither in person, nor in succession, could those rules of St. Paul be kept till Christ's coming, to wit, to judgment. But if he instructed him in the perpetual office of episcopacy, then it is easy to understand that St. Paul gave that caution to Timothy, to intimate that those his directions were not personal, but for his successors in that charge, to which he had ordained him, viz. in the sacred order and office of episcopacy.

5. Lastly; After all this stir, there are some of the fathers that will, by no means, admit St. Timothy to have been an evangelist.[f] So St. Chrysostom, so Theophylact, so the Greek scholiast. Now though we have no need to make any use of it, yet if it be true, it makes all this discourse needless, we were safe enough without it; if it be false, then itself we see is needless, for the allegation of St. Timothy's being an evangelist is absolutely impertinent, though it had been true.

But now I proceed.

[d] Lib. x. Tripart. Hist. cap. 5. Theodoret.
[e] 1 Tim. vi. 14. [f] In Ephes. iv.

SECTION XV.

St. Titus at Crete.

TITUS was also made a bishop by the apostles. St. Paul also was his ordainer. First, "Reliqui te Cretæ." There St. Paul fixed his seat for him at Crete. Secondly: His work was τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθῶσαι,—"to set in order things that are wanting;" viz. to constitute rites and forms of public liturgy, to erect a consistory for cognizance of causes criminal, to dedicate houses for prayer, by public destination for Divine service; and, in a word, by his authority, to establish such discipline and rituals, as himself did judge to be most for edification and ornament of the Church of God. For he that was appointed by St. Paul to rectify and set things in order, was, most certainly, by him supposed to be the judge of all the obliquities which he was to rectify. 2. The next work is episcopal too, and it is the "ordaining presbyters in every city." Not presbyters collectively in every city, but distributively, κατὰ πόλιν,—'city by city;' that is, elders in several cities; one in one city, many in many. For by these 'elders,' are certainly meant 'bishops.' Of the identity of names I shall afterwards give an account; but here, it is plain, St. Paul expounds himself to mean bishops.

1. In terms and express words: "To ordain elders in every city; if any be the husband of one wife, &c. For a bishop must be blameless:" that is, 'the elders that you are to ordain in several cities, must be blameless; for else they must not be bishops.' 2. The word πρεσβυτέρους cannot hinder this exposition; for St. Peter calls himself συμπρεσβύτερον, and St. John, 'presbyter electæ dominæ,' and 'presbyter dilectissimo Gaio.' Such presbyters as these were apostolical; and that is as much as episcopal, to be sure. 3. St. Paul adds further, "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God."[a] "Who, then, is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler?" St. Paul's bishop is 'God's steward;' and 'God's steward' is the 'ruler of his household,' says our blessed Saviour himself; and, therefore,

[a] Titus, i.

not a mere presbyter; amongst whom, indeed, there is a parity, but no superintendence of God's making. 4. St. Paul does, in the sequel, still qualify his elders or bishops, with more proprieties of rulers: "A bishop must be no striker; not given to wine." They are exactly the requisites which our blessed Saviour exacts, in his stewards' or rulers' accounts. "If the steward of the house will drink and be drunk, and beat his fellow-servants, then the Lord of that servant shall come, and divide him his portion with unbelievers." The steward of the household, this ruler, must not be πάροινος, nor πλήκτης; no more must a bishop; he must not be "given to wine; no striker." "Neque enim pugilem describit sermo apostolicus, sed pontificem instituit quid facere non debeat," saith St. Jerome.[b] Still, then, these are the rulers of the Church which St. Titus was to ordain; and, therefore, it is required he should rule well his own house; for how else shall he take charge of the Church of God? Implying, that this, his charge, is to rule the house of God. 5. The reason why St. Paul appointed him to ordain these bishops in cities, is, in order to coercive jurisdiction; because "many unruly and vain talkers were crept in" (verse 10), and they were to be silenced, οὓς δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν,—"their mouths must be stopped." Therefore they must be such elders as had superiority of jurisdiction over these impertinent preachers, which to a single presbyter, either by Divine or apostolical institution, no man will grant; and to a college of presbyters, St. Paul does not intend it, for himself had given it singly to St. Titus. For I consider,

Titus alone had coercive jurisdiction before he ordained these elders; be they bishops, be they presbyters. The presbyters which were at Crete before his coming, had not episcopal power, or coercive jurisdiction: for why, then, was Titus sent? As for the presbyters which Titus ordained, before his ordaining them, to be sure they had no power at all: they were not presbyters. If they had a coercive jurisdiction afterwards, to wit, by their ordination, then Titus had it before in his own person (for they that were there before his coming had not, as I shewed); and, therefore, he must also have it still, for he could not lose it by ordaining others;

[b] Advers. Jovinian.

or if he had it not before, how could he give it unto them whom he ordained? For 'plus juris in alium transferre nemo potest, quam ipse habet.'

Howsoever it be, then, to be sure Titus had it in his own person; and then it follows, undeniably, that either this coercive jurisdiction was not necessary for the Church (which would be either to suppose men impeccable, or the Church to be exposed to all the inconveniences of schism and tumultuary factions, without possibility of relief), or if it was necessary, then, because it was in Titus not as a personal prerogative, but a power to be succeeded to, he might ordain others; he had authority to do it, with the same power he had himself; and, therefore, since he alone had this coercion in his own person, so should his successors: and then, because a single presbyter could not have it over his brethren, by the confession of all sides, nor the college of presbyters, which were there before his coming, had it not (for why, then, was Titus sent with a new commission?); nor those which he was to ordain, if they were but mere presbyters, could not have it, no more than the presbyters that were there before his coming;—it follows that those elders, which St. Paul sent Titus to ordain, being such as were to be constituted in opposition and power over the false doctors and prating preachers, and with authority to silence them (as is evident in the first chapter of that epistle); these elders (I say) are, verily and indeed, such as himself calls bishops, in the proper sense and acceptation of the word.

6. The Cretan presbyters, who were there before St. Titus's coming, had not power to ordain others; that is, had not that power that Titus had. For Titus was sent thither for that purpose, therefore, to supply the want of that power. And now, because to ordain others was necessary for the conservation and succession of the Church; that is, because new generations are necessary for the continuing the world; and mere presbyters could not do it; and yet this must be done, not only by Titus himself, but after him; it follows undeniably, that St. Paul sent Titus to ordain men, with the same power that himself had; that is, with more than his first Cretan presbyters, that is, bishops; and he means them in the proper sense.

7. That by 'elders in several cities,' he means 'bishops,'

is also plain, from the place where they were to be ordained; κατὰ πόλιν, not κατὰ κωμὴν, or κατὰ πολίχνιον—"In populous cities, not in village-towns;" for no bishops were ever suffered to be in village-towns; as is to be seen in the Councils of Sardis,[c] of Chalcedon,[d] and St. Leo;[e] the cities, therefore, do at least highly intimate, that the persons to be ordained were not mere presbyters.

The issue of this discourse is: That since Titus was sent to Crete to ordain bishops, himself was a bishop, to be sure, at least. If he had ordained only presbyters, it would have proved that. But this infers him to be a metropolitan, forasmuch as he was bishop of Crete, and yet had many suffragans in subordination to him, of his own constitution, and yet of proper dioceses. However, if this discourse concludes nothing peculiar, it frees the place from popular prejudice and mistakes, upon the confusion of 'episcopus' and 'presbyter;' and at least infers his being a bishop, if not a great deal more.

Yea; but did not St. Titus ordain no mere presbyters? Yes, most certainly. But so he did deacons too; and yet neither one nor the other are otherwise mentioned in this epistle, but by consequence and comprehension, within the superior order. For he that ordains 'a bishop,' first makes him 'a deacon,' and then he obtains καλὸν βαθμὸν,—"a good degree;" and then 'a presbyter,' and then 'a bishop.' So that these inferior orders are presupposed, in the authorizing the supreme; and by giving direction for the qualifications of bishops, he sufficiently instructs the inferior orders in their deportment, insomuch as they are probations for advancement to the higher.

2. Add to this, that he that ordains bishops in cities, sets there τάξιν γεννητικὴν, "ordinem generativum patrum," as Epiphanius calls episcopacy; and, therefore, most certainly with intention, not that it should be χεὶρ ἄκυρος, "manus mortua," but to produce others; and, therefore, presbyters and deacons.

3. St. Paul made no express provision for villages, and yet, most certainly, did not intend to leave them destitute; and, therefore, he took order that such ordinations should be

[c] Cap. vi. [d] Can. 17. [e] Epist. 87. ad Episc. Afric.

made in cities, which should be provisionary for villages; and that is, of such men as had power to ordain, and power to send presbyters to what part of their charge they pleased: for, since presbyters could not ordain other presbyters, as appears by St. Paul's sending Titus to do it there, where, most certainly, many presbyters before were actually resident; if presbyters had gone to villages, they must have left the cities destitute; or if they stayed in cities, the villages would have perished; and at last, when these men had died, both one and the other had been made a prey to the wolf; for there could be no shepherd after the decay of the first generation.

But let us see further into St. Titus's commission, and letters of orders, and institution: "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject."[f] Cognizance of heretical pravity, and animadversion against the heretic himself, is most plainly concredited to St. Titus: for, first, he is to 'admonish him,' then to 'reject him,' upon his pertinacity, from the catholic communion. "Cogere autem illos videtur, qui sæpe corripit," saith St. Ambrose, upon the establishing a coactive or coercive jurisdiction over the clergy and whole diocese.

But I need not specify any more particulars; for St. Paul committed to St. Titus, πᾶσαν ἐπιταγήν,—"all authority and power."[g] The consequence is that which St. Ambrose prefixes to the commentary on his epistle: "Titum apostolus consecravit episcopum, et ideò commonet eum ut sit solicitus in ecclesiasticâ ordinatione, id est, ad quosdam, qui simulatione quâdam dignos se ostentabant ut sublimem ordinem tenerent, simulque et hæreticos ex circumcisione corripiendos."

And now, after so fair preparatory of Scripture, we may hear the testimonies of antiquity witnessing that Titus was, by St. Paul, made bishop of Crete. "Sed et Lucas," saith Eusebius, "in Actibus Apostolorum, Timothei meminit et Titi; quorum alter in Epheso episcopus; alter ordinandis apud Cretam ecclesiis ab eo ordinatus præficitur."[h] That is it which St. Ambrose expresses something more plainly: "Titum apostolus consecravit episcopum; — The apostle consecrated Titus bishop;"[i] and Theodoret calling Titus, "Cretensium

[f] Tit. iii. 10. [g] Tit. ii. 15. [h] Lib. iii. c. 4. [i] Ubi suprà.

episcopum,— the bishop of the Cretans." And for this reason saith, St. Paul did not write to Sylvanus, or Silas, or Clemens, but to Timothy and Titus,[k] *διτι τούτοις ἤδη ἐκκλησίας ἦν ἐγκεχειρικώς*,— "because to these he had already committed the government of churches." But a fuller testimony of St. Titus being a bishop, who please may see, in St. Jerome,[l] in Dorotheus,[m] in Isidore,[n] in Vincentius,[o] in Theodoret,[p] in St. Gregory,[q] in Primasius,[r] in Sedulius,[s] Theophylact,[t] and Nicephorus.[u] To which, if we add the subscription of the epistle, asserted from all impertinent objections by the clearer testimony of St. Athanasius,[x] St. Jerome,[y] the Syriac translation, Œcumenius,[z] and Theophylact,[a] no confident denial can ever break through, or escape conviction.

And now, I know not what objection can fairly be made here; for, I hope St. Titus was no 'evangelist.' He is not called so in Scripture, and all antiquity calls him 'a bishop;' and the nature of his offices, the eminence of his dignity, the superiority of jurisdiction, the cognizance of causes criminal, and the epistle, proclaim him 'bishop.' But suppose awhile, Titus had been an evangelist, I would fain know who succeeded him; or did all his office expire with his person? If so, then who shall reject heretics when Titus is dead? Who shall silence factious preachers? If not, then still, who succeeded him? The presbyters? How can that be? For, if they had more power after his death than before, and governed the churches, which, before, they did not; then, to be sure, their government, in common, is not an apostolical ordinance, much less is it a Divine right, for it is postnate to them both. But if they had no more power after Titus than they had under him, how then could they succeed him? There was, indeed, a dereliction of the authority, but no succession. The succession, therefore, both in the metropolis of Crete, and also in the other cities, was made by singular persons, not by a college; for so we find in the *διαδοχαὶ*,

[k] 1 Tim. iii. [l] De Script. Eccles. in Tito. [m] In Synops.
[n] De Vita et Morte S. Sanct. [o] Lib. xxxviii. c. 10.
[p] Apud Œcumen. in præfat. in Tit. et 1 Tim. iii.
[q] In Pastor. part ii. c. 11. [r] Præfat. in 1 Tim. et in 2 Tim. i.
[s] In 1 Tim. i. et in 2 Tim. i. 6. [t] In Tit. i. [u] Lib. ii. c. 34.
[x] In Synopsis Sacr. Script. [y] Ad Paulam et Eustoch.
[z] Comment. ad Titum. [a] Ibid.

recorded by Eusebius, that in Gnossus, of Crete, Pinytus was a most eminent bishop, and that Philip was the metropolitan at Gortyna: "Sed et Pinytus nobilissimus apud Cretam in episcopis fuit," saith Eusebius.[b] But of this enough.

SECTION XVI.

St. Mark at Alexandria.

My next instance shall be of one that was an evangelist indeed, one that writ the Gospel, and he was a bishop of Alexandria. In Scripture we find nothing of him, but that he was an evangelist and a deacon; for he was deacon to St. Paul and Barnabas, when they went to the Gentiles, by ordination and special designment, made at Antioch; συμπαραλαβόντες Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον·—'They had John to be their minister; viz. John, whose surname was Mark.'[a] But we are not to expect all the ordinations made by the apostles in their Acts, written by St. Luke, which end at St. Paul's first going to Rome; but many other things, their founding of divers churches, their ordination of bishops, their journeys, their persecutions, their miracles and martyrdoms, are recorded, and rely upon the faith of the Primitive Church. And yet the ordination of St. Mark was within the term of St. Luke's story; for his successor, 'Anianus, was made bishop of Alexandria in the eighth year of Nero's reign, five or six years before the death of St. Paul.' "Igitur Neronis primo imperii anno, post Marcum evangelistam, ecclesiæ apud Alexandriam Anianus sacerdotium suscepit:" so the Latin of Ruffinus reads it, instead of 'octavo.' 'Sacerdotium,' λειτουργίαν, that is, 'the bishoprick;' for, else there were many λείτουργοι and priests in Alexandria besides him; and how then he should be St. Mark's successor, more than the other presbyters, is not so soon to be contrived. But so the collecta of the chapter runs:

[b] Lib. iv. c. 21. [a] Acts, xii. and xiii.

"Quod post Marcum primus episcopus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ ordinatus sit Anianus;—Anianus was consecrated the first bishop of Alexandria, after St. Mark." And Philo, the Jew, telling the story of the Christians in Alexandria, called, by the inhabitants, 'Cultores,' and 'Cultrices,—the worshippers,' "Addit autem adhuc his," saith Eusebius; "quomodo sacerdotes vel ministri exhibeant officia sua, vel quæ sit supra omnia episcopalis apicis sedes;" intimating that, beside the offices of priests and ministers, there was an episcopal dignity, which was 'apex super omnia,—a height above all employments,' established at Alexandria; and how soon that was, is soon computed; for Phila lived in our blessed Saviour's time, and was ambassador to the Emperor Caius, and survived St. Mark a little.

But St. Jerome will strike up this business. "A Marco evangelistâ ad Heraclam usque et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri Ægypti semper unum ex se electum in celsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant." And again, "Marcus interpres apostoli Petri, et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ primus episcopus."[b] The same is witnessed by St. Gregory,[c] Nicephorus,[d] and divers others.

Now, although the ordination of St. Mark is not specified in the Acts, as innumerable multitudes of things more, and scarce any thing at all of any of the twelve but St. Peter, nothing of St. James the son of Thaddæus, nor of Alpheus, but the martyrdom of one of them; nothing of St. Bartholomew, of St. Thomas, of Simon Zelotes, of St. Jude the apostle; scarce any of their names recorded; yet no wise man can distrust the faith of such records, which all Christendom hitherto, so far as we know, hath acknowledged as authentic; and these ordinations cannot possibly go less than apostolical, being done in the apostles' times, to whom the care of all the churches was concredited, they seeing and beholding several successions in several churches before their death; as here at Alexandria, first St. Mark, then Anianus, made bishop five or six years before the death of St. Peter and St. Paul. But yet, who it was that ordained St. Mark bishop of

[b] Epist. ad Evagr. De Script. Eccles. et in proæm. in Mat.
[c] Lib. vi. epist. 371. [d] Lib. xiv. c. 39.

Alexandria (for bishop he was, most certainly), is not obscurely intimated by the most excellent man, St. Gelasius, in the Roman council, "Marcus à Petro apostolo in Ægyptum directus, verbum veritatis prædicavit, et gloriosè consummavit martyrium."[e] St. Peter sent him into Egypt to found a church, and, therefore, would furnish him with all things requisite for so great employment; and that could be no less than the ordinary power apostolical.

SECTION XVII.

St. Linus and St. Clement at Rome.

But in the Church of Rome, the ordination of bishops by the apostles, and their successions during the times of the apostles, is very manifest by a concurrent testimony of old writers. "Fundantes igitur, et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his, quæ sunt ad Timotheum, epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus, post eum tertio loco ab apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et vidit ipsos apostolos, et contulit cum eis, cum adhuc insonantem prædicationem apostolorum, et traditionem ante oculos haberet." So St. Irenæus.[a] "Memoratur autem ex comitibus Pauli Crescens quidam ad Gallias esse præfectus; Linus vero et Clemens in urbe Româ ecclesiæ præfuisse."[b] Many more testimonies there are of these men being ordained bishops of Rome by the apostles; as of Tertullian,[c] Optatus,[d] St. Augustin,[e] and St. Jerome.[f] But I will not cloy my reader with variety of one dish, and be tedious in a thing so evident and known.

[e] In Decret. de Lib. Authent. et Apocryph.
[a] Lib. iii. c. 3. [b] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 4. [c] De Præscript.
[d] Lib. ii. cont. Parmen. [e] Epist. 165. [f] De Script. Eccles.

SECTION XVIII.

St. Polycarp at Smyrna, and divers others.

St. John ordained St. Polycarp bishop at Smyrna. "Sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne collocatum refert; sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit, proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant." So Tertullian.[a] "The Church of Smyrna saith that Polycarp was placed there by St. John, as the Church of Rome saith that Clement was ordained there by St. Peter; and other churches have those whom the apostles made to be their bishops." "Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus——sed etiam ab apostolis in Asiâ, in eâ quæ est Smyrnis ecclesiâ, constitutus episcopus——et testimonium his perhibent quæ sunt in Asiâ, ecclesiæ omnes, et qui usque adhuc successerunt Polycarpo," &c. The same, also, is witnessed by St. Jerome and Eusebius:[b] "Quoniam autem valde longum est in tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum successiones enumerare," to use St. Irenæus's expression. It were an infinite labour to reckon up all those whom the apostles made bishops with their own hands, as Dionysius[c] the Areopagite at Athens, Caius[d] at Thessalonica, Archippus[e] at Colosse, Onesimus[f] at Ephesus, Antipas[g] at Pergamus, Epaphroditus[h] at Philippi, Crescens[i] among the Gauls, Evodias[k] at Antioch, Sosipater[l] at Iconium, Erastus in Macedonia, Trophimus at Arles, Jason at Tarsus, Silas at Corinth, Onesiphorus at Colophon, Quartus at Berytus, Paul, the proconsul at Narbona, besides many more, whose names are not recorded in Scripture, as these forecited are, so many as Eusebius[m] counts impossible to enumerate; it shall

[a] De Præscript. [b] De Script. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 35.
[c] Euseb. lib. iv. c. 23; et lib. iii. c. 4. [d] Origen. lib. x. in Rom. x.
[e] St. Ambrose, in Coloss. iv.
[f] Ignatius Epist. ad Ephes.; et Euseb. lib. iii. c. 35.
[g] Arethas in Apocal. i.
[h] Epist. ad Philip. et Theodoret. ib. et 1 Tim. iii.
[i] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 4. apud Gallias. So Ruffinus reads it: "In Galatia," so is intimated in Scripture, and so the Roman Martyrol.
[k] Ignatius Epist. ad Antioch.; et Euseb. lib. iii. c. 22.
[l] In Martyrologio Roman. [m] Lib. iii. c. 37.

therefore suffice to sum up this digest of their acts and ordinations in those general foldings used by the fathers, saying that the apostles did ordain bishops in all churches, that the succession of bishops, down from the apostles' first ordination of them, was the only argument to prove their churches catholic, and their adversaries, who could not do so, to be heretical. This also is very evident, and of great consideration in the first ages, while their tradition was clear and evident, and not so bepuddled as it since hath been with the mixture of heretics, striving to spoil that which did so much mischief to their causes.

" Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, aut apostolicis viris, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem, hoc modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt," &c. And when St. Irenæus had reckoned twelve successions in the Church of Rome from the apostles, " nunc duodecimo loco ab apostolis episcopatum habet Eleutherius. Hâc ordinatione," saith he, " et successione, et ea quæ est ab apostolis in ecclesiâ traditio et veritatis præconiatio pervenit usque ad nos; et est plenissima hæc ostensio unam et eandem vivatricem fidem esse, quæ in ecclesiâ ab apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, et tradita in veritate."[n] So that this succession of bishops from the apostles' ordination, must of itself be a very certain thing, when the Church made it a main probation of their faith; for the books of Scripture were not all gathered together, and generally received as yet. Now then, since this was a main pillar of their Christianity, viz. a constant reception of it from hand to hand, as being delivered by the bishops in every chair, till we come to the very apostles that did ordain them; this I say, being their proof, although it could not be more certain than the thing to be proved, which in that case was a Divine revelation, yet to them it was more evident, as being matter of fact, and known almost by evidence of sense, and as verily believed by all, as it was by any one, that himself was baptized, both relying upon the report of others. " Radix Christianæ societatis per sedes apostolorum, et successiones episcoporum, certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur," said St. Augustin:[o] " The very root and

[n] Lib. iii. cap. 3. [o] Epist. 42.

foundation of Christian communion is spread all over the world, by the successions of apostles and bishops."

And is it not now a madness to say there was no such thing, no succession of bishops in the churches apostolical, no ordination of bishops by the apostles, and so, as St. Paul's phrase is, "overthrow the faith of some," even of the primitive Christians, that used this argument as a great weapon of offence against the invasion of heretics and factious people? It is enough for us that we can truly say, with St. Irenæus, "Habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis usque ad nos;—We can reckon those, who, from the apostles until now, were made bishops in the churches;"[p] and of this we are sure enough, if there be any faith in Christians.

SECTION XIX.

So that Episcopacy is at least an Apostolical Ordinance; of the same Authority with many other Points generally believed.

The sum is this. Although we had not proved the immediate Divine institution of episcopal power over presbyters and the whole flock, yet episcopacy is not less than an apostolical ordinance, and delivered to us by the same authority that the observation of the Lord's day is. For, for that in the New Testament we have no precept, and nothing but the example of the primitive disciples meeting in their Synaxes upon that day, and so also they did on the Saturday in the Jewish synagogues, but yet (however that at Geneva they were once in meditation to have changed it into a Thursday meeting, to have shewn their Christian liberty), we should think strangely of those men that called the Sunday-festival less than an apostolical ordinance: and necessary now to be kept holy with such observances as the Church hath appointed.

Baptism of infants is most certainly a holy and charitable ordinance, and of ordinary necessity to all that ever cried,

[p] Ubi suprà.

and yet the Church hath founded this rite upon the tradition of the apostles; and wise men do easily observe, that the anabaptist can, by the same probability of Scripture, enforce a necessity of communicating infants upon us, as we do of baptizing infants upon them, if we speak of immediate Divine institution, or of practice apostolical recorded in Scripture; and therefore a great master of Geneva, in a book he wrote against the anabaptists, was forced to fly to apostolical traditive ordination, and therefore the institution of bishops must be served first, as having fairer plea, and clearer evidence in Scripture, than the baptizing of infants, and yet they that deny this are, by the just anathema of the Catholic Church, confidently condemned for heretics.

Of the same consideration are divers other things in Christianity, as the presbyters consecrating the eucharist; for if the apostles in the first institution did represent the whole Church, clergy and laity, when Christ said, 'Hoc facite, —Do this,' then why may not every Christian man there represented do that, which the apostles, in the name of all, were commanded to do? If the apostles did not represent the whole Church, why then do all communicate? Or what place, or intimation of Christ's saying, is there in all the four gospels, limiting 'hoc facite,' id est, 'benedicite,' to the clergy, and extending 'hoc facite,' id est, 'accipite et manducate,' to the laity? This also rests upon the practice apostolical and traditive interpretation of holy Church, and yet cannot be denied that so it ought to be, by any man that would not have his Christendom suspected.

To these I add the communion of women, the distinction of books apocryphal from canonical, that such books were written by such evangelists and apostles, the whole tradition of Scripture itself, the apostles' creed, the feast of Easter, (which, amongst all them that cry up the Sunday-festival for a Divine institution, must needs prevail as 'caput institutionis,' it being that for which the Sunday is commemorated). These, and divers others of greater consequence (which I dare not specify for fear of being misunderstood), rely but upon equal faith with this of episcopacy (though I should wave all the arguments for immediate Divine ordinance), and therefore it is but reasonable it should be ranked

amongst the 'credenda' of Christianity, which the Church hath entertained upon the confidence of that which we call 'the faith of a Christian,' whose Master is truth itself.

SECTION XX.

And was an Office of Power and great Authority.

WHAT their power and eminence was, and the appropriates of their office so ordained by the apostles, appears also by the testimonies before alleged, the expressions whereof run in these high terms: "Episcopatus administrandæ ecclesiæ in Lino: — Linus's bishoprick was the administration of the whole Church." 'Ecclesiæ præfuisse' was said of him and Clemens; they were both 'prefects of the Church,' or 'prelates;' that is the church-word. "Ordinandis apud Cretam ecclesiis præficitur," so Titus; "He is set over all the affairs of the new-founded churches in Crete." "In celsiori gradu collocatus,— placed in a higher order or degree;" so the bishop of Alexandria, chosen "ex presbyteris, — from amongst the presbyters." "Supra omnia episcopalis apicis;" so Philo of that bishoprick; "The seat of episcopal height above all things in Christianity." These are its honours. Its offices these: τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθῶσαι, ἐπιστομίζειν ἀνυποτάκτους, καὶ ματαιολόγους, &c. "To set in order whatsoever he sees wanting, or amiss; to silence vain prating preachers, that will not submit to their superiors, to ordain elders, to rebuke delinquents, to reject heretics," viz. from the communion of the faithful, (for else why was the angel of the Church of Pergamus reproved for tolerating the Nicolaitan heretics, but that it was in his power to eject them? And the same is the case of the angel of Thyatira in permitting the woman to teach and seduce the people), but to the bishop was committed the cognizance of causes criminal, and particularly of presbyters (so to Timothy in the instance formerly alleged), nay, πᾶσα ἐπιταγή,—"all authority," so in the case of Titus, and "officium regendæ ecclesiæ, — the office of ruling the Church," so to them all whom the apostles left in the several churches respectively, which they had new

founded. So Eusebius.[b] For the bishop was ἐπὶ πᾶσι καθιστὼς, —"set over all," clergy and laity, saith St. Clement.

This was given to bishops by the apostles themselves, and this was not given to presbyters, as I have already proved; and for the present it will sufficiently appear in this, that bishops had power over presbyters, which cannot be supposed they had over themselves, unless they could be their own superiors.

SECTION XXI.

Not lessened by the Assistance and Counsel of Presbyters.

But a council, or college of presbyters, might have jurisdiction over any one, and such colleges there were in the apostles' times, and they did "in communi ecclesiam regere, —govern the Church in common with the bishop;" as saith St. Jerome, viz. where there was a bishop; and where there was none, they ruled without him. This, indeed, will call us to a new account: and it relies upon the testimony of St. Jerome, which I will set down here, that we may leave the sun without a cloud.[a] St. Jerome's words are these: "Idem est enim presbyter quod episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, 'Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ,' communi presbyterorum concilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam verò unusquisque eos quos baptizabat, suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur."

Then he brings some arguments to confirm his saying, and sums them up thus: "Hæc diximus, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos episcopos, et ut episcopi noverint se magis ecclesiæ consuetudine quàm Dominicæ dispositionis veritate presbyteris esse majores; et in communi debere ecclesiam regere," &c.

The thing St. Jerome aims to prove, is the identity of

[b] Ubi suprà, apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 23.

[a] Comment. in Ep. ad Titum.

bishop, presbyter, and their government of the Church in common. For their identity, it is clear that St. Jerome does not mean it in respect of order, as if a bishop and a presbyter had both one office 'per omnia,' one power; for else he contradicts himself most apertly; for, in his epistle "ad Evagrium," "Quid facit," saith he, "episcopus acceptâ ordinatione quod presbyter non facit?—A presbyter may not ordain, a bishop does;" which is a clear difference of power, and by St. Jerome is not expressed in matter of fact, but of right, "quod presbyter non *faciat*," not "non *facit*;" that a priest may not, must not, do that a bishop does, viz. he gives holy orders. And for matter of fact, St. Jerome knew that in his time a presbyter did not govern in common; but, because he conceived it was fit he should be joined in the common regiment and care of the diocese, therefore he asserted it as much as he could: and therefore, if St. Jerome had thought that this difference of the power of ordination had been only customary, and by actual indulgence, or encroachment, or positive constitution, and no matter of primitive and original right, St. Jerome was not so diffident but out it should come, what would have come. And suppose St. Jerome, in this distinct power of ordination, had intended it only to be a difference in fact, not in right (for so some of late have muttered), then St. Jerome had not said true according to his own principles, for "Quid facit episcopus exceptâ ordinatione quod presbyter non faciat?" had been quickly answered, if the question had only been 'de facto;' for the bishop governed the Church alone, and so in jurisdiction was greater than presbyters, and this was by custom, and in fact at least, St. Jerome says it, and the bishop took so much power to himself, that 'de facto' presbyters were not suffered to do any thing 'sine literis episcopalibus,—without leave of the bishop;' and this St. Jerome complained of;[b] so that 'de facto' the power of ordination was not the only difference. That, then, (if St. Jerome says true), being the only difference between presbyter and bishop, must be meant 'de jure,' in matter of right, not 'human positive,' (for that is coincident with the other power of jurisdiction, which, 'de facto,' and at least by a human right, the bishop

[b] Ad Nepotian. et de 7. Ordin. Eccles.

had over presbyters), but 'Divine;' and then this identity of bishop and presbyter, by St. Jerome's own confession, cannot be meant in respect of order, but that episcopacy is, by Divine right, a superior order to the presbyterate.

Add to this, that the arguments which St. Jerome uses in this discourse, are to prove that bishops are sometimes called 'presbyters.' To this purpose he urges Acts, xx., and Philippians, i., and the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and some others, but all driving to the same issue. To what? Not to prove that presbyters are sometimes called presbyters; for who doubts that? But that bishops are so, may be of some consideration, and needs a proof, and this he undertook. Now that they are so called, must needs infer an identity and a disparity in several respects. An identity, at least of names; for else it had been wholly impertinent. A disparity; or else his arguments were to prove 'idem affirmari de eodem;' which were a business next to telling pins. Now, then, this disparity must be either in order or jurisdiction. By the former probation it is sure that he means the orders to be disparate; if jurisdiction too, I am content; but the former is most certain, if he stand to his own principles.

This identity, then, which St. Jerome expresses of episcopus and presbyter, must be either in name or in jurisdiction. I know not certainly which he means, for his arguments conclude only for the identity of names, but his conclusion is for identity of jurisdiction: 'Et in communi debere ecclesiam regere,' is the intent of his discourse. If he means the first, viz. that of names, it is well enough, there is no harm done, it is 'in confesso apud omnes;' but concludes nothing, as I shall shew hereafter; but because he intends, so far as may be guessed by his words, a parity and concurrence of jurisdiction, this must be considered distinctly.

1. Then: In the first founding of churches, the apostles did appoint presbyters and inferior ministers, with a power of baptizing, preaching, consecrating, and reconciling 'in privato foro;' but did not in every church at the first founding it, constitute a bishop. This is evident in Crete, in Ephesus, in Corinth, at Rome, at Antioch.

2. Where no bishops were constituted, there the apostles kept the jurisdiction in their own hands: "There comes

upon me," saith St. Paul, " daily the care (or supravision) of all the churches." Not all 'absolutely,' for not all of the circumcision, but all 'of his charge,' with which he was once charged, and of which he had not exonerated himself by constituting bishops there, for of these there is the same reason. And again: " If any man obey not our word, διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε, signify him to me by an epistle;" so he charges the Thessalonians,[c] and therefore of this church, St. Paul as yet clearly kept the power in his own hands. So that the Church was ever, in all the parts of it, governed by episcopal or apostolical authority.

For aught appears in Scripture, the apostles never gave any external or coercive jurisdiction in public and criminal causes, nor yet power to ordain rites or ceremonies, or to inflict censures, to a college of mere presbyters. The contrary may be greedily swallowed, and I know not with how great confidence, and prescribing prejudice; but there is not in all Scripture any commission from Christ, any ordinance or warrant from the apostles, to any presbyter, or college of presbyters without a bishop, or express delegation of apostolical authority, 'tanquam vicario suo,' as to his 'substitute,' in absence of the bishop or apostle, to inflict any censures, or take cognizance of persons and causes criminal. Presbyters might be 'surrogati in locum episcopi absentis,' but never had any ordinary jurisdiction given them by virtue of their ordination, or any commission from Christ or his apostles.

This we may best consider by induction of particulars.

1. There was a presbytery at Jerusalem, but they had a bishop always, and the college of the apostles sometimes: therefore, whatsoever act they did, it was in conjunction with, and subordination to, the bishops and apostles. Now it cannot be denied, both that the apostles were superior to all the presbyters in Jerusalem, and also had power alone to govern the Church. I say they had power to govern alone, for they had the government of the Church alone before they ordained the first presbyters, that is, before there were any of capacity to join with them, they must do it themselves, and then also they must retain the same power, for they

[c] 2 Thess. iii. 14.

could not lose it by giving orders. Now, if they had a power of sole jurisdiction, then the presbyters, being in some public acts in conjunction with the apostles, cannot challenge a right of governing as affixed to their order, they only assisting in subordination, and by dependence.

This only by the way: In Jerusalem the presbyters were something more than ordinary, and were not mere presbyters in the present and limited sense of the word. For Barnabas, and Judas, and Silas (*ἀνδρὰς ἡγουμένους*, St. Luke calls them),[d] were of that presbytery. *Καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες.* They were rulers, and prophets, chief men amongst the brethren, and yet called elders or presbyters, though of apostolical power and authority, *ὅτι καὶ πρεσβυτέρων εἶχον ἀξίαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι*, saith Oecumenius.[e] For truth is, that divers of them were ordained apostles with an unlimited jurisdiction, not fixed upon any see, that they also might, together with the twelve, 'exire in totum mundum.' So that, in this presbytery, either they were more than mere presbyters, as Barnabas, and Judas, and Silas, men of apostolical power, and they might well be in conjunction with the twelve; and with the bishop, they were of equal power, not by virtue of their presbyterate, but by their apostolate; or if they were but mere presbyters, yet because it is certain, and proved, and confessed, that the apostles had power to govern the Church alone, this their taking mere 'presbyteros in partem regiminis,' was a voluntory act, and from this example was derived to other churches; and then it is most true, that "presbyteros in communi ecclesiam regere," was rather "consuetudine ecclesiæ, quàm Dominicæ dispositionis veritate," to use St. Jerome's own expression; for this is more evident than that bishops do 'eminere cæteris,' by custom rather than Divine institution. For if the apostles might rule the Church alone, then that the presbyters were taken into the number was a voluntary act of the apostles; and although fitting to be retained where the same reasons do remain, and circumstances occur, yet not necessary, because not affixed to their order; not 'Dominicæ dispositionis veritate,' and not laudable when those reasons cease, and there is an emergency of contrary causes.

2. The next presbytery we read of is at Antioch; but

[d] Acts, xv. [e] In Act. Apost.

there we find no acts either of concurrent or single jurisdiction, but of ordination indeed we do, and that performed by such men as St. Paul was, and Barnabas,[f] for they were two of the prophets reckoned in the Church of Antioch, but I do not remember them to be called 'presbyters in that place;' to be sure they were not mere presbyters as we now understand the word; as I proved formerly.

3. But in the Church of Ephesus there was a college of presbyters, and they were, by the Spirit of God, called bishops, and were appointed by him to be pastors of the Church of God. This must do it or nothing, "In quo Spiritus Sanctus posuit *vos* episcopos;—In whom the Holy Ghost hath made *you* bishops."[g] There must lie the exigence of the argument, and if we can find who is meant by 'vos,' we shall, I hope, gain the truth. St. Paul sent for the presbyters or elders, to come from Ephesus to Miletus, and to them he spoke. It is true, but that is not all the 'vos.' For there were present at that sermon, Sopater, and Aristarchus, and Secundus, and Gaius, and Timothy, and Tychicus, and Trophimus,[h] and although he sent to Ephesus, as to the metropolis, and there many elders were, either accidentally or by ordinary residence, yet those were not all elders of that church, but of all Asia; in the Scripture sense, the Lesser Asia. For so, in the preface of his sermon, St. Paul intimates: "Ye know that from the first day I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons."[i] His whole conversation in Asia was not confined to Ephesus, and yet those elders who were present, were witnesses of it all, and, therefore, were of dispersed habitation; and so it is more clearly inferred from verse 25: "And now behold I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God," &c. It was a travel to preach to all that were present, and, therefore, most certainly they were inhabitants of places very considerably distant.

Now, upon this ground, I will raise these considerations.

1. If there be a confusion of names in Scripture, particularly of episcopus and presbyter, as it is contended for on one side, and granted on all sides, then where both the

[f] Acts, xiii.
[g] Acts, xx.
[h] Acts, xx. 4.
[i] Verse 18.

words are used, what shall determine the signification? For whether (to instance in this place) shall 'presbyter' limit 'episcopus,' or 'episcopus' extend 'presbyter?' Why may not presbyter signify one that is verily a bishop, as episcopus signify a mere presbyter? For it is but an ignorant conceit, wherever presbyter is named, to fancy it in the proper and limited sense, and not to do so with episcopus; and when they are joined together, rather to believe it in the limited and present sense of presbyter, than in the proper and present sense of episcopus. So that as yet we are indifferent upon the terms. These men sent for from Ephesus, are called πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, 'elders' or 'presbyters of the church;' but at Miletus, 'Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos,' there they are called 'bishops' or overseers. So that I may as well say here, 'properly so called bishops,' as another may say, 'here were mere presbyters.' And lest it be objected in prejudice of my affirmative, that they could not be bishops, because they were of Ephesus, there never being but one bishop in one church; I answer, that in the apostles' times this was not true. For at Jerusalem there were many at the same time, that had episcopal and apostolical authority, and so at Antioch: as at Jerusalem, where James, and Judas, and Silas, and the apostles, and Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, and at Rome, at the same time, Peter, and Paul, and Linus, and Clemens; but yet but one of them was fixed, and properly the bishop of that place. But, secondly; All these were not of Ephesus, but the elders of all Asia, but some from other countries, as appears verse 4. So that although they were all bishops, we might easily find distinct dioceses for them, without encumbering the Church of Ephesus with a multiplied incumbency. Thus far then we are upon even terms; the community of compellations used here, can no more force us to believe them all to be mere presbyters than bishops, in the proper sense.

2. It is very certain, that they were not all mere presbyters at his farewell sermon; for St. Timothy was there, and I proved him to be a bishop by abundant testimony, and many of those which are reckoned, verse 4, were companions of the apostle in his journey; and employed, in mission apostolical, for the founding of churches; and particularly Sopater was there, and he was bishop of Iconium, and

Tychicus, of Chalcedon in Bithynia, as Dorotheus and Eusebius witness;[k] and Trophimus, of Arles in France; for so it is witnessed by the suffragans of that province, in their epistle to St. Leo. But without all doubt, here were bishops present as well as presbyters, for, besides the premises, we have a witness beyond exception, the ancient St. Irenæus: "In Mileto enim convocatis episcopis, et presbyteris qui erant ab Epheso, et à reliquis proximis civitatibus, quoniam ipse festinavit Hierosolymis Pentecosten agere," &c.: St. Paul, making haste to keep his Pentecost at Jerusalem, "at Miletus did call together the bishops and presbyters from Ephesus, and the neighbouring cities."[l] Now to all these in conjunction, St. Paul spoke, and to these indeed the Holy Ghost had concredited his Church to be fed, and taught with pastoral supravision; but, in the meanwhile, here is no commission of power, or jurisdiction to presbyters distinctly, nor supposition of any such pre-existent power.

3. All that St. Paul said in this narration, was spoken in the presence of them all, but not to them all. For that of verse 18, "Ye know how I have been with you in Asia in all seasons:" that indeed was spoken to all the presbyters that came from Ephesus and the voisinage, viz. in a collective sense, not in a distributive, for each of them was not in all the circuit of his Asian travels; but this was not spoken to Sopater the Berean, or to Aristarchus the Thessalonian, but to Tychicus and Trophimus, who were Asians, it might be addressed. And for that of verse 25, "Ye all among whom I have gone preaching, shall see my face no more:" this was directed only to the Asians, for he was never more to come thither; but Timothy, to be sure, saw him afterwards, for St. Paul sent for him, a little before his death, to Rome, and it will not be supposed he neglected to attend him. So that if there were a conjunction of bishops and presbyters at his meeting, as most certainly there was, and of evangelists and apostolical men besides, how shall it be known, or indeed with any probability suspected, that clause of verse 28, "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos pascere ecclesiam Dei," does belong to the Ephesine presbyters, and not particularly to Timothy, who was now actually bishop of

[k] Ubi suprà. [l] Lib. iii. c. 14.

Ephesus, and to Gaius, and to the other apostolical men, who had, at least, episcopal authority, that is, power of founding and ordering churches without a fixed and limited jurisdiction.

4. Either in this place is no jurisdiction at all intimated 'de antiquo,' or concredited 'de novo,' or if there be, it is in the word ἐπισκόπους and ποιμαίνειν, verse 28, 'bishops' and 'feeders;' and then it belongs to the presbyters in conjunction with, and subordination to, the bishops; for to the mere presbyters it cannot be proved to appertain, by any intimation of that place.

5. How and if these presbyters, which came from Ephesus, and the other parts of Asia, were made bishops at Miletus? Then also this way all difficulty will be removed. And that so it was, is more than probable; for to be sure, Timothy was now entering and fixing upon his see; and it was consonant to the practice of the apostles, and the exigence of the thing itself, when they were to leave a church, to fix a bishop in it; for why else was a bishop fixed in Jerusalem so long before any other churches, but because the apostles were to be scattered from thence, and there the first bloody field of martyrdom was to be fought? And the case was equal here, for St. Paul was never to see the churches of Asia any more; and foresaw that ravening wolves would enter into the folds, and he had actually placed a bishop in Ephesus; and it is unimaginable, that he would not make equal provision for other churches, there being the same necessity, from the same danger, in them all, and either St. Paul did it now or never; and that about this time, the other six Asian churches had angels or bishops set in their candlesticks, is plain, for there had been a succession in the Church of Pergamus; Antipas was dead, and St. Timothy had sat in Ephesus, and St. Polycarp at Smyrna, many years before St. John writ his Revelation.

6. Lastly: That no jurisdiction was in the Ephesine presbyters, except a delegate, and subordinate, appears beyond all exception, by St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy, establishing in the person of Timothy power of coercitive jurisdiction over presbyters, and ordination in him alone, without the conjunction of any in commission with him, for aught appears either there or elsewhere.

4. The same also, in the case of the Cretan presbyters, is clear. For what power had they of jurisdiction? For that is it we now speak of. If they had none before St. Titus came, we are well enough at Crete. If they had, why did St. Paul take it from them, to invest Titus with it? Or if he did not, to what purpose did he send Titus with all those powers before mentioned? For either the presbyters of Crete had jurisdiction, in causes criminal, equal to Titus after his coming, or they had not. If they had not, then either they had no jurisdiction at all, or whatsoever it was in subordination to him, they were his inferiors, and he their ordinary judge and governor.

5. One thing more before this be left, must be considered concerning the Church of Corinth, for there was power of excommunication in the presbytery when they had no bishop, for they had none of divers years after the founding of the church, and yet St. Paul reproves them for not ejecting the incestuous person out of the church.

This is it that I said before, that the apostles kept the jurisdiction in their hands where they had founded a church and placed no bishop, for in this case of the Corinthian incest, the apostle did make himself the sole judge: "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already;"[m] and then, secondly, St. Paul gives the Church of Corinth commission and substitution to proceed in this cause, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together,[n] and my spirit," that is, 'my power, my authority,' for so he explains himself, "my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver him over to Satan." And thirdly, as all this power is delegate, so it is but declarative in the Corinthians; for St. Paul had given sentence before, and they of Corinth were to publish it. Fourthly; this was a commission given to the whole assembly, and no more concerns the presbyters than the people, and so some have contended; but so it is; but it will serve neither of their turns, neither for an independent presbytery, nor a conjunctive popularity. As for St. Paul's reproving them, for not inflicting censures on the peccant, I have often heard it confidently averred, but never could see ground for it. The suspicion of

[m] 1 Cor. v. 3. [n] Verse 4.

it is verse 2: "And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned; that he that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you:" taken away: but by whom? that is the question. Not by them, to be sure. For 'taken away from you' implies that it is by the power of another, not by their act, for no man can take away any thing from himself, he may 'put it away,' not 'take it;' the expression had been very imperfect if this had been his meaning. Well then: in all these instances, viz. of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Crete, and Corinth, (and these are all I can find in Scripture of any consideration in the present question,) all the jurisdiction was originally in the apostles, while there was no bishop, or in the bishop, when there was any: and yet that the presbyters were joined in the ordering church affairs, I will not deny, to wit, by voluntary assuming them, 'in partem sollicitudinis,' and by delegation of power apostolical or episcopal, and by way of assistance in acts deliberative and consiliary, though I find this nowhere specified but in the Church of Jerusalem, where I proved that the elders were men of more power than mere presbyters, men of apostolical authority. But here lies the issue and strain of the question.

Presbyters had no jurisdiction in causes criminal, and pertaining to the public regiment of the Church, by virtue of their order, or without particular substitution and delegation. For there is not in all Scripture any commission given by Christ to mere presbyters, no Divine institution of any power of regiment in the presbytery; no constitution apostolical, that mere presbyters should either alone, or in conjunction with the bishop, govern the Church; no example in all Scripture of any censure inflicted by any mere presbyters, either upon clergy or laity; no specification of any power that they had so to do; but to churches where colleges of presbyters were resident, bishops were sent by apostolical ordination; not only with power of imposition of hands, but of excommunication, of taking cognizance even of causes and actions of presbyters themselves, as to Titus and Timothy, the angel of the Church of Ephesus; and there is also example of delegation of power of censures from the apostle to a church, where many presbyters were fixed, as in the case of the Corinthian delinquent before specified, which delegation was needless, if coercitive jurisdiction, by censures,

had been by Divine right in a presbyter, or a whole college of them.

Now then, return we to the consideration of St. Jerome's saying: "The Church was governed 'communi presbyterorum consilio,'—by the common counsel of presbyters." But,

1. 'Quo jure' was this? That the bishops are superior to those which were then called presbyters, by custom rather than Divine disposition, St. Jerome affirms; but that presbyters were joined with the apostles and bishops at first, by what right was that? Was not that also by custom and condescension, rather than by Divine disposition? St. Jerome does not say but it was. For he speaks only of matter of fact, not of right: it might have been otherwise, though, 'de facto,' it was so in some places.

2. 'Communi presbyterorum consilio' is true in the Church of Jerusalem, where the elders were apostolical men, and had episcopal authority, and something superadded, as Barnabas, and Judas, and Silas, for they had the authority and power of bishops, and an unlimited diocese besides, though afterwards Silas was fixed upon the see of Corinth. But yet even at Jerusalem they actually had a bishop, who was, in that place, superior to them in jurisdiction, and, therefore, does clearly evince, that the common counsel of presbyters is no argument against the superiority of a bishop over them.

3. 'Communi presbyterorum consilio' is also true, because the apostles called themselves presbyters, as St. Paul and St. John in their epistles. Now, at the first, many prophets, many elders (for the words are sometimes used in common), were, for a while, resident in particular churches, and did govern in common; as at Antioch were Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaën, and Paul, 'communi horum presbyterorum consilio' the Church of Antioch for a time was governed; for all these were presbyters, in the sense that St. Peter and St. John were, and the elders of the Church of Jerusalem.

4. Suppose this had been true in the sense that any body please to imagine, yet this not being by any Divine ordinance, that presbyters should, by their counsel, assist in external regiment of the Church, neither by any imitation of Scripture, nor by affirmation of St. Jerome, it is sufficient to

stifle this by that saying of St. Ambrose: "Postquàm omnibus locis ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ, et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam cœperat."[o] It might be so at first 'de facto,' and yet no need to be so, neither then nor after. For at first Ephesus had no bishop of its own, nor Crete, and there was no need, for St Paul had the supravision of them, and St. John, and other of the apostles; but yet afterwards, St. Paul did send bishops thither; for when themselves were to go away, the power must be concredited to another; and if they, in their absence, before the constituting of a bishop, had intrusted the care of the church with presbyters, yet it was but in dependence on the apostles, and by substitution, not by any ordinary power, and it ceased at the presence or command of the apostle, or the sending of a bishop to reside. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ποιμάναντες τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν.[p] So St. Ignatius, being absent from his church, upon a business of being persecuted, he wrote to his presbyters, "Do you feed the flock amongst you, till God shall shew you who shall be your ruler," viz. 'my successor: no longer: your commission expires when a bishop comes.'

5. To the conclusion of St. Jerome's discourse, viz. 'That bishops are not greater than presbyters by the truth of Divine disposition;' I answer, that this is true in this sense, bishops are not, by Divine disposition, greater than all those which, in Scripture, are called presbyters, such as were the elders in the Council at Jerusalem, such as were they of Antioch, such as St. Peter and St. John, συμπρεσβύτεροι all, and yet all of them were not bishops in the present sense, that is, of a fixed and particular diocese and jurisdiction.

Secondly: St. Jerome's meaning is also true in this sense, "Bishops, by the truth of the Lord's disposition, are not greater than presbyters," viz. 'quoad exercitium actûs,' that is, they are not tied to exercise jurisdiction solely in their own persons, but may "asciscere sibi presbyteros in commune consilium," they 'may delegate jurisdiction to the presbyters;' and that they did not so, but kept the exercise of it only in their own hands in St. Jerome's time, this is it, which he saith is rather by custom than by Divine dispensation, for it was otherwise at first, viz. 'de facto,' and might

[o] In Ephes. iv. [p] Epist. ad Antioch.

be so still, there being no law of God against the delegation of power episcopal. As for the last words in the objection, "Et in communi debere ecclesiam regere," it is an assumentum of St. Jerome's own; for all his former discourse was of the identity of names, and common regiment 'de facto,' not 'de jure,' and from a fact to conclude with a 'deberet,' is a 'non sequitur,' unless this 'debere' be understood according to the exigence of the former arguments, that is, they ought not by God's law, but in imitation of the practice apostolical; to wit, when things are as they were then, when the presbyters are such as then they were; they ought, for many considerations, and in great cases, not by the necessity of a precept.

And indeed, to do him right, he so explains himself: "Et in communi debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cùm haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret:[q]—The presbyters ought to judge in common with the bishop, for the bishops ought to imitate Moses, who might have ruled alone, yet was content to take others to him, and himself only to rule in chief." Thus St. Jerome would have the bishops do, but then he acknowledges the right of sole jurisdiction to be in them, and therefore, though his counsel perhaps might be good then, yet it is necessary at no time, and was not followed then, and, to be sure, is needless now. For the arguments which St. Jerome uses to prove this intention, whatever it is, I have, and shall elsewhere produce, for they yield many other considerations than this collection of St. Jerome, and prove nothing less than the equality of the offices of episcopacy and presbyterate. The same thing is 'per omnia' respondent to the parallel place of St. Chrysostom: it is needless to repeat either the objection or answer.

But, however, this saying of St. Jerome, and the parallel of St. Chrysostom, is but like an argument against an evident truth, which comes forth upon a desperate service, and they are sure to be killed by the adverse party, or to run upon their own swords; for either they are to be understood in the senses above explicated, and then they are impertinent,

[q] In 1 Tim. iii. Ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἶχον ἀναδιδομένοι, καὶ προστασίαν· τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην αὐτῶν ἀναβιβάσασι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δεικνῦσι πλεονεκτοῦν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.—*Homil.* 11.

or else they contradict evidence of Scripture and catholic antiquity, and so are false, and die within their own trenches.

I end this argument of tradition apostolical with that saying of St. Jerome in the same place; "Postquam unusquisque eos quos baptizabat suos putabat esse, non Christi, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, in toto orbe decretum est ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur." That is 'a public decree issued out in the apostles' times, that in all churches one should be chosen out of the clergy, and set over them, viz. to rule and govern the flock committed to his charge. This, I say, was in the apostles' times, even upon the occasion of the Corinthian schism; for then they said, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and then it was, that he that baptized any catechumens, took them for his own, not as Christ's disciples.' So that it was, 'tempore apostolorum,' that this decree was made; for 'in the time of the apostles,' St. James, and St. Mark, and St. Timothy, and St. Titus, were made bishops by St. Jerome's express attestation. It was also 'toto orbe decretum;' so that if it had not been proved to have been an immediate Divine institution, yet it could not have gone much less, it being, as I have proved, and as St. Jerome acknowledges, catholic and apostolic.

SECTION XXII.

And all this hath been the Faith and Practice of Christendom.

"Be ye followers of me as I am of Christ," is an apostolical precept. We have seen how the apostles have followed Christ, how their tradition is consequent of Divine institution: next let us see how the Church hath followed the apostles, as the apostles have followed Christ. Catholic practice is the next basis of the power and order of episcopacy. And this shall be 'in subsidium' to them also that call for reduction of the state episcopal to a primitive consistence, and for the confirmation of all those pious sons of holy Church, who have a venerable estimate of the public and authorized facts of catholic Christendom.

For consider we, is it imaginable, that all the world should, immediately after the death of the apostles, conspire together to seek themselves, and not 'ea quæ sunt Jesu Christi;' to erect a government of their own devising, not ordained by Christ, not delivered by his apostles, and to relinquish a Divine foundation, and the apostolical superstructure, which, if it was at all, was a part of our Master's will, which whosoever knew, and observed not, was to be beaten with many stripes? Is it imaginable, that those gallant men, who could not be brought off from the prescriptions of Gentilism, to the seeming impossibilities of Christianity, without evidence of miracle, and clarity of demonstration upon agreed principles, should all, upon their first adhesion to Christianity, make a universal dereliction of so considerable a part of their Master's will, and leave Gentilism to destroy Christianity; for he that erects another economy than what the Master of the family hath ordained, destroys all those relations of mutual dependence, which Christ hath made for the coadunation of all the parts of it, and so destroys it in the formality of a Christian congregation, or family.

Is it imaginable, that all those glorious martyrs, that were so curious observers of Divine sanctions, and canons apostolical, that so long as that ordinance of the apostles, concerning abstinence from blood, was of force, they would rather die than eat a strangled hen or a pudding, (for so Eusebius relates of the Christians, in the particular instance of Biblius and Blandina,) that they would be so sedulous in contemning the government, that Christ left for his family, and erect another?

To what purpose were all their watchings, their banishments, their fears, their fastings, their penances, and formidable austerities, and finally, their so frequent martyrdoms; of what excellence or avail, if, after all, they should be hurried out of this world, and all their fortunes and possessions, by untimely, by disgraceful, by dolorous deaths, to be set before a tribunal, to give account of their universal neglect, and contemning of Christ's last testament, in so great an affair, as the whole government of his Church?

If all Christendom should be guilty of so open, so united a defiance against their Master, by what argument or

confidence can any misbeliever be persuaded to Christianity, which, in all its members for so many ages together, is so unlike its first institution, and in its most public affair, and, for matter of order, of the most general concernment, is so contrary to the first birth?

Where are the promises of Christ's perpetual assistance, of the impregnable permanence of the Church against the gates of hell, of the Spirit of Truth to lead it into all truth, if she be guilty of so grand an error as to erect a throne where Christ had made all level, or appointed others to sit in it than whom he suffers? Either Christ hath left no government, or most certainly the Church hath retained that government, whatsoever it is; for the contradictory to these would either make Christ improvident, or the catholic Church extremely negligent (to say no worse) and incurious of her 'depositum.' But, upon the confidence of all Christendom (if there were no more in it), I suppose we may fairly venture: 'Sit anima mea cum Christianis.'

SECTION XXIII.

Who first distinguished Names, used before in common.

The first thing done in Christendom, upon the death of the apostles, in this matter of episcopacy, is the distinguishing of names, which before were common. For in Holy Scripture all the names of clerical offices were given to the superior order, and particularly all offices, and parts, and persons, designed in any employment of the sacred priesthood, were signified by 'presbyter' and 'presbyterium.' And therefore, lest the confusion of names might persuade an identity and indistinction of office, the wisdom of Holy Church found it necessary to distinguish and separate orders and offices, by distinct and proper appellations. "For the apostles did know, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that contentions would arise, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, about the name of episcopacy," saith St. Clement;[a] and so it did in the Church of

[a] Epist. ad Corin.

Corinth, as soon as their apostle had expired his last breath. But so it was.

1. The apostles, which I have proved to be the supreme ordinary office in the church, and to be succeeded in, were called in Scripture πρεσβύτεροι, 'elders' or 'presbyters;' πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, saith St. Peter the apostle;—"The elders or presbyters that are among you, I also, who am an elder or presbyter, do entreat."[b] Such elders St. Peter spoke to, as he was himself, to wit, those to whom the regiment of the church was committed; the bishops of Asia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, that is, to Timothy, to Tychicus, to Sosipater, to the angels of the Asian churches, and all others, whom himself, in the next words, points out, by the description of their office, ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες, &c.—"Feed the flock of God as bishops," or 'being bishops and overseers over it:' and that to rulers he then spake, is evident by his μὴ καταχυριεύοντες, for it was impertinent to have warned them of 'tyranny,' that had no rule at all. The mere presbyters, I deny not, but are included in this admonition; for as their office is involved in the bishop's office, the bishop being bishop and presbyter too, so is his duty also in the bishop's; so that, 'pro ratâ,' the presbyter knows what lies on him, by proportion and intuition to the bishop's admonition. But again: Ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, saith St. John the apostle; and ὁ πρεσβύτερος Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ.—"The presbyter to the elect lady; the presbyter to Gaius."

2. If apostles be called presbyters, no harm though bishops be called so too: for apostles and bishops are all one in ordinary office, as I have proved formerly. Thus are those apostolical men, in the college at Jerusalem, called presbyters, whom yet the Holy Ghost calleth ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους,—'principal men, ruling men,' and οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι,—the presbyters that rule well.' By presbyters are meant bishops, to whom only, according to the intention and exigence of Divine institution, the apostle had concredited the Church of Ephesus, and the neighbouring cities, "ut solus quisque episcopus præsit omnibus," as appears in the former discourse. The same also is Acts, xx. The Holy Ghost

[b] 1 Pet. v. 1.

hath made you bishops; and yet the same men are called πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The one place expounds the other, for they are both 'ad idem,' and speak of elders of the same church.

3. Although bishops be called presbyters, yet, even in Scripture, names are so distinguished, that mere presbyters are never called bishops, unless it be in conjunction with bishops; and then in the general address, which, in all fair deportments, is made to the more eminent, sometimes presbyters are, or may be, comprehended. This observation, if it prove true, will clearly shew, that the confusion of names of 'episcopus,' and 'presbyter,' such as it is in Scripture, is of no pretence, by any intimation of Scripture, for the indistinction of offices; for even the names in Scripture itself are so distinguished, that a mere presbyter alone is never called a bishop, but a bishop and apostle is often called a presbyter, as in the instances above. But we will consider those places of Scripture which use to be pretended in those impertinent arguings from the identity of name, to confusion of things, and shew that they neither interfere upon the main question, nor this observation: "Paul and Timotheus to all the saints which are in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." I am more willing to choose this instance, because the place is of much consideration in the whole question, and I shall take this occasion to clear it from prejudice and disadvantage.

By bishops are here meant presbyters, because many bishops in a church could not be; and yet St. Paul speaks plurally of the bishops of the Church of Philippi, and therefore must mean mere presbyters; so it is pretended.

1. Then: By 'bishops' are, or may be, meant the whole superior order of the clergy, 'bishops and priests;' and that he speaks plurally, he may, besides the bishops in the church, comprehend under their name the presbyters too; for why may not the name be comprehended as well as the office, and order the inferior under the superior, the lesser within the greater? for, since the order of presbyters is involved in the bishops' order, and is not only inclusively in it, but derivative from it, the same name may comprehend both persons, because it does comprehend the distinct offices and

orders of them both. And in this sense it is, if it be at all, that presbyters are sometimes in Scripture called bishops.

2. Why may not 'bishops' be understood properly? For there is no necessity of admitting that there were any mere presbyters at all, at the first founding of this church. It can neither be proved from Scripture nor antiquity, if it were denied. For indeed a bishop, or a company of episcopal men, as there were at Antioch, might do all that presbyters could, and much more. And considering that there are some necessities of a church, which a presbyter cannot supply, and a bishop can, it is more imaginable that there was no presbyter, than that there was no bishop. And certainly it is most unlikely that what is not expressed, to wit, presbyters, should be only meant, and that which is expressed should not be at all intended.

3. 'With the bishops' may be understood in the proper sense, and yet no more bishops in one diocese than one, of a fixed residence; for in that sense is St. Chrysostom and the fathers to be understood in their commentaries on this place affirming that 'one church could have but one bishop;'[e] but then take this along, that it was not then unusual in such great churches, to have many men who were temporary residentiaries, but of an apostolical and episcopal authority, as in the churches of Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, there was, as I have proved in the premises. Nay, in Philippi itself, if I mistake not, an instance may be given full and home to this purpose: "Salutant te episcopi Onesimus, Titus, Demas, Polybius, et omnes qui sunt Philippis in Christo, unde et hæc vobis scripsi," saith Ignatius, in his epistle to Hero, his deacon. So that many bishops, we see, might be at Philippi, and many were actually there long after St. Paul's dictate of the epistle.

4. Why may not 'bishops' be meant in the proper sense? Because there could not be more bishops than one in a diocese. No? By what law? If by a constitution of the Church after the apostles' times, that hinders not, but it might be otherwise in the apostles' times. If by a law in the apostles' times, then we have obtained the main question by the shift,

[e] Τί τοῦτο; μιᾶς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἦσαν οὐδαμοῦ.—*Chrys. in Phil.* i.

and the apostles did ordain that there should be one, and but one, bishop in a church, although it is evident they appointed many presbyters. And then let this objection be admitted how it will, and do its worst, we are safe enough.

5. 'With the bishops,' may be taken distributively; for Philippi was a metropolis, and had divers bishopricks under it; and St. Paul, writing to the Church of Philippi, wrote also to all the daughter-churches within its circuit, and therefore might well salute many bishops, though writing to one metropolis; and this is the more probable, if the reading of this place be accepted according to Oecumenius: for he reads it not σὺν ἐπισκόποις, but συνεπισκόποις, "Co-episcopis et diaconis," "Paul and Timothy to the saints at Philippi, and to our *fellow-bishops*."

6. St. Ambrose refers this clause of "cum episcopis, et diaconis," to St. Paul and St. Timothy; intimating, that the benediction and salutation was sent to the saints at Philippi from St. Paul and St. Timothy with the bishops and deacons, so that the reading must be thus: "Paul and Timothy with the bishops and deacons, to all the saints at Philippi," &c. "Cum episcopis et diaconis, hoc est, cum Paulo, et Timotheo, qui utique episcopi erant, simul et significavit diaconos qui ministrabant ei. Ad plebem enim scribit. Nam si episcopis scriberet, et diaconis, ad personas eorum scriberet, et loci ipsius episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus vel tribus, sicut et ad Titum et Timotheum."[d]

7. The like expression to this is in the epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, which may give another light to this, speaking of the apostles, καθιστάνοντας ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. "They delivered their first fruits to the bishops and deacons."[e] 'Bishops' here indeed may be taken distributively, and so will not infer that many bishops were collectively in any one church; but yet this gives intimation for another exposition of this clause to the Philippians. For here, either presbyters are meant by διακόνους,—'ministers;' or else presbyters are not taken care of in the ecclesiastical provision, which no man imagines, of what interest soever he be; it follows then that 'bishops and deacons' are no more but 'majores,' and 'minores sacer-

[d] In Phil. i. [e] Page 54.

dotes' in both places; for as 'presbyter' and 'episcopus' were confounded, so also 'presbyter' and 'diaconus;' and I think it will easily be shewn in Scripture, that the word 'diaconus' is given oftener to apostles, and bishops, and presbyters, than to those ministers, which now, by way of appropriation, we call deacons. But of this anon. Now again to the main observation.

Thus also it was in the Church of Ephesus; for St. Paul, writing to their bishop, and giving order for the constitution and deportment of the church-orders and officers, gives directions first for bishops, then for deacons.[f] Where are the presbyters in the interim? Either they must be comprehended in bishops or in deacons. They may as well be in one as the other; for 'diaconus' is not in Scripture any more appropriated to the inferior clergy, than 'episcopus' to the superior, nor so much neither. For 'episcopus' was never used in the New Testament for any, but such as had the care, regiment, and supravision of a church; but 'diaconus' was used generally for all ministries.

But yet, supposing that presbyters were included under the word 'episcopus,' yet it is not because the officers and orders are one, but because that the order of a presbyter is comprehended within the dignity of a bishop. And then indeed the compellation is of the more principal, and the presbyter is also comprehended, for his conjunction, and involution in the superior, which was the principal observation here intended. "Nam in episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est, princeps est sacerdotum, et propheta et evangelista, et cætera adimplenda officia ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium;" saith St. Ambrose.[g] So that, if, in the description of the qualifications of a bishop, he intends to qualify presbyters also, then it is principally intended for a bishop, and of the presbyters only by way of subordination and comprehension. This only by the way, because this place is also abused to other issues; to be sure it is but a vain dream, that because presbyter is not named, that therefore it is all one with a bishop, when as it may be

[f] In Tim. iii.

[g] In Ephes. iv. Idem ait S. Dionysius Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 5. Ἡδὶ τῆς ἱεραρχικῆς τάξεως δύναμις ἐν πάσαις χωρεῖ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐλάττοσιν, i. e. τάξιν καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τάξιων ἐνεργεῖ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἱεραρχίας μυστήρια.

comprehended under bishop as a part in the whole, or the inferior within the superior (the office of a bishop having in it the office of a presbyter and something more), or else it may be as well intended in the word 'deacons,' and rather than the word 'bishop.' 1. Because 'bishop' is spoken of in the singular number, 'deacons' in the plural, and so liker to comprehend the multitude of presbyters. 2. Presbyters, or else bishops, and therefore much more presbyters, are called by St. Paul διάκονοι,—"ministers;" 'deacons' is the word; διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε,—"deacons by whose ministration ye believed." And 3. By the same argument deacons may be as well one with the bishop too; for, in the epistle to Titus, St. Paul describes the office of a bishop, and says not a word more either of presbyter or deacon's office; and why, I pray, may not the office of presbyters in the epistle to Timothy be omitted, as well as presbyters and deacons too in that to Titus? or else, why may not deacons be confounded, and be all one with bishop, as well as presbyter? It will, it must be so, if this argument were any thing else but an airy and impertinent nothing.

After all this, yet it cannot be shewn in Scripture that any one single and mere presbyter is called a bishop; but it may be often found that a bishop, nay, an apostle, is called a presbyter, as in the instances above; and therefore, since this communication of names is only in descension, by reason of the involution, or comprehension of presbyter within 'episcopus,' but never in ascension; that is, an apostle, or a bishop, is often called presbyter, and deacon, and prophet, and pastor, and doctor, but never 'retrò;' that a mere deacon, or a mere presbyter, should be called either bishop or apostle, it can never be brought either to depress the order of bishops below their throne, or erect mere presbyters above their stalls in the quire. For we may as well confound apostle and deacon, and with clearer probability, than episcopus and presbyter. For apostles and bishops are in Scripture often called deacons. I gave one instance of this before, but there are very many. Εἰς διακονίαν ταύτην, was said of St. Matthias, when he succeeded Judas in the apostolate. Καλὸς ἔσῃ διάκονος, said St. Paul to Timothy, bishop of Ephesus.[h] St. Paul is called διάκονος τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης,—"a deacon

[h] 2 Cor. vi. 4.

of the New Testament;" and διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, is said of the first founders of the Corinthian Church; "deacons by whom ye believed."[i] Paul and Apollos were the men. It is the observation of St. Chrysostom, καὶ διάκονος ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο διὰ τοῦτο γράφων τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἔλεγε, Τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι·—"And a bishop was called a deacon; wherefore, writing to Timothy, he saith to him, being a bishop, Fulfil thy deaconship."[k]

Add to this, that there is no word, or designation of any clerical office, but is given to bishops and apostles. The apostles are called 'prophets,' Acts, xiii. The prophets at Antioch were Lucius and Manaen, and Paul and Barnabas; and then they are called 'pastors' too; and indeed, 'hoc ipso,' that they are bishops, they are pastors: "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos pascere ecclesiam Dei." Whereupon the Greek scholiast expounds the word 'pastor' to signify bishops, τοὺς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεπιστευμένους λέγει, οἷος ὁ Τιμόθεος, οἷος ὁ Τίτος ἦν. And ever since that St. Peter set us a copy in the compellation of the prototype, calling him the "Great Shepherd, and Bishop of our souls," it hath obtained in all antiquity, that 'pastors and bishops' are coincident, and we shall very hardly meet with an instance to the contrary.

If bishops be pastors, then they are doctors also, for these are conjunct, when other offices which may in person be united, yet in themselves are made disparate; for "God hath given some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers:"[l] Ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους. If pastors, then also doctors and teachers. And this is observed by St. Austin.[m] "Pastors and doctors whom you would have me to distinguish, I think are one and the same." For Paul doth not say, 'some pastors, some doctors,' but to pastors he joineth doctors, that pastors might understand it belongeth to their office to teach. The same also is affirmed by Sedulius upon this place.

Thus it was in Scripture; but after the churches were settled, and bishops fixed upon their several sees, then the names also were made distinct, only those names which did design temporary offices did expire, τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινώνουν

[i] 1 Cor. iii. 5.
[k] In Phil. i.
[l] Ephes. iv.
[m] Epist. 59. ad Paulinum.

ὀνόμασι, saith St. Chrysostom: "Thus far the names were common," viz. in the sense above explicated, λοιπὸν δὲ τὸ ἰδίαζον ἑκάστῳ ἀπονενέμηται ὄνομα, ἐπισκόπου ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέρου πρεσβυτέρῳ.—"But immediately the names were made proper and distinct, and to every order its own name is left, of a bishop to a bishop, of a presbyter to a presbyter." This could not be supposed at first; for when they were to borrow words from the titles of secular honour, or offices, and to transplant them to an artificial and imposed sense, use, which is the master of language, must rule us in this affair, and use is not contracted but in some process and descent of time. For at first, Christendom itself wanted a name, and the disciples of the glorious Nazarene were christened first in Antioch, for they had their baptism some years before they had their name. It had been no wonder then, if 'per omnia' it had so happened in the compellation of all the offices and orders of the Church.

SECTION XXIV.

Appropriating the word 'Episcopus' or Bishop to the Supreme Church-officer.

But immediately after the apostles, and still more in descending ages, 'episcopus' signified only the superintendent of the church, the 'bishop' in the present and vulgar conception. Some few examples I shall give instead of myriads. In the Canons of the Apostles, the word ἐπίσκοπος, or bishop, is used thirty-six times in appropriation to him that is the ordinary, ruler, and president of the church above the clergy and the laity, being twenty-four times expressly distinguished from presbyter, and in the other fourteen having particular care for government, jurisdiction, censures, and ordinations committed to him, as I shall shew hereafter, and all this is within the verge of the first fifty, which are received as authentic, by the Council of Nice;[a] of Antioch,[b] twenty-five canons whereof are taken out of the Canons of the Apostles; the Council of Gangra calling them 'canones ecclesiasticos,'

[a] Can. 15 and 16. [b] C. 9. et alibi.

and 'apostolicas traditiones;' by the epistle of the first Council of Constantinople to Damascus, which Theodoret hath inserted into his story; by the Council of Ephesus;[c] by Tertullian;[d] by Constantine the Great;[e] and are sometimes, by way of eminence, called 'the canons,' sometimes 'the ecclesiastical canons;' sometimes 'the ancient and received canons of our fathers;' sometimes 'the apostolical canons,' *Τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων δεχθέντας καὶ κυρωθέντας, ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ παραδοθέντας ἡμῖν ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀποστόλων*, said the fathers of the council in Trullo; and Damasen puts them in order next to the canon of Holy Scripture:[f] so in effect does Isidore, in his preface to the work of the councils, for he sets those canons in front, because "Sancti patres eorum sententias auctoritate synodali roborarunt, et inter canonicas posuerunt constitutiones:—The holy fathers have established these canons by the authority of councils, and have put them amongst the canonical constitutions." And great reason; for, in Pope Stephen's time they were translated into Latin by one Dionysius, at the entreaty of Laurentius, because then the old Latin copies were rude and barbarous.[g] Now, then, this second translation of them being made in Pope Stephen's time, who was contemporary with St. Irenæus and St. Cyprian, the old copy, older than this, and yet after the original to be sure, shews them to be of prime antiquity; and they are mentioned by St. Stephen in an epistle of his to Bishop Hilarius, where he is severe in censure of them who do prevaricate these canons.

But, for further satisfaction, I refer the reader to the epistle of Gregory Holloander to the moderators of the city of Norimberg. I deny not but they are called apocryphal by Gratian, and some others, viz. in the sense of the Church, just as the Wisdom of Solomon, or Ecclesiasticus, but yet by most believed to be written by St. Clement, from the dictate of the apostles, and, without all question, are so far canonical, as to be of undoubted ecclesiastical authority, and of the first antiquity.

Ignatius's testimony is next in time and in authority.[h]

[c] Post. adven. Epis. Cypri.
[d] Advers. Praxeam.
[e] Lib. iii. c. 59. de Vita Const.
[f] Can. 4. cap. 18. de Orthod. Fide.
[g] Anno Dom. 257.
[h] Epist. ad Trall.

Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ παντὸς ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει.—"The bishop bears the image and representment of the Father of all." And a little after, τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐκείνου πάντων κρατῶν; τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον, ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνέδρευται τοῦ ἐπισκόπου; τί δὲ διάκονοι, &c.—"What is the bishop, but he that hath all authority and rule? What is the presbytery, but a sacred college, counsellors and helpers, or assessors, to the bishop? What are deacons," &c. So that here is the real and exact distinction of dignity, the appropriation of name and intimation of office. The bishop is above all; the presbyters, his helpers; the deacons, his ministers; Μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων,—"Imitators of the angels, who are ministering spirits." But this is of so known, so evident a truth, that it were but impertinent to insist longer upon it. Himself, in three of his epistles, uses it nine times in distinct enumeration, viz. to the Trallians, to the Philadelphians, to the Philippians. And now I shall insert these considerations.

1. Although it was so that 'episcopus' and 'presbyter' were distinct in the beginning after the apostles' death, yet sometimes the names are used promiscuously; which is an evidence, that confusion of names is no intimation, much less an argument, for the parity of offices, since themselves, who sometimes, though indeed very seldom, confound the names, yet distinguish the offices frequently and dogmatically. Μηδὲν ἄτερ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράσσετε· ἱερεῖς γάρ εἰσι, οὐδὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων.[1] Where, by ἐπισκόπων, he means the presbyters of the Church of Antioch; so indeed some say, and though there be no necessity of admitting this meaning, because by ἐπισκόπων he may mean the suffragan bishops of Syria, yet the other may be fairly admitted; for himself their bishop was absent from his church, and had delegated to the presbytery episcopal jurisdiction to rule the church, till he being dead, another bishop should be chosen, so that they were 'episcopi vicarii,' and, by representment of the person of the bishop, and execution of the bishop's power by delegation, were called ἐπίσκοποι, and this was done lest the church should not be only without a father, but without a guardian too; and yet what a bishop was, and of what authority, no man

[1] Epist. ad Heron.

more confident and frequent than Ignatius. Another example of this is in Eusebius, speaking of the youth whom St. John had converted and commended to a bishop. Clemens, whose story this was, proceeding in the relation, says, Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος, &c.—"But the presbyter;" unless by πρεσβύτερος here St. Clement means not the 'order,' but 'age,' of the man; as it is like enough he did, for a little after he calls him ὁ πρεσβύτης,—"the old man." "Tum verò presbyter in domum suam suscipit adolescentem. Redde depositum, O episcope," saith St. John to him. "Tunc graviter suspirans senior," &c.; so St. Clement. But this, as it is very unusual, so it is just as in Scripture, viz. in descent and comprehension; for this bishop also was a presbyter as well as bishop, or else in the delegation of episcopal power, for so it is in the allegation of Ignatius.

2. That this name 'episcopus,' or 'bishop,' was chosen to be appropriate to the supreme order of the clergy, was done with fair reason and design. For this is no fastuous or pompous title, the word is of no dignity, and implies none but what is consequent to the just and fair execution of its offices. But presbyter is a name of dignity and veneration, "Rise up to the grey head;" and it transplants the honour and reverence of age to the office of the presbyterate. And yet this the bishops left, and took that which signifies a mere supravision, and overlooking of his charge; so that, if we take estimate from the names, 'presbyter' is a name of dignity, and 'episcopus' of office and burden. "He that desires the office of a bishop, desires a good work," προστασίας γὰρ ἔργόν ἐστι, saith St. Chrysostom. "Nec dicit si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum desiderat gradum, sed bonum opus desiderat, quod in majore ordine constitutus possit, si velit, occasionem habere exercendarum virtutum;" so St. Jerome: "It is not an honourable title, but a good office, and a great opportunity of the exercise of excellent virtues." But for this we need no better testimony than of St. Isidore: "Episcopatus autem vocabulum inde dictum, quòd ille qui superefficitur, superintendat, curam scil. gerens subditorum."[k] But, "presbyter Græcè Latinè 'senior' interpretatur, non pro ætate, vel decrepitâ senectute, sed propter honorem et digni-

[k] Lib. vii. Etymolog. c. 12.

latem quam acceperunt." Οὐδέν ἐστι πρεσβύτερον, ἅπερ τοῦ οὐδέν ἐστι τιμιώτερον, καὶ πρεσβεύειν τὸ τιμᾶν, παρὰ Πλάτωνι, saith Julius Pollux.

3. Supposing that episcopus and presbyter had been often confounded in Scripture and antiquity, and that both in ascension and descension, yet as priests may be called angels, and yet the bishop be the angel of the church; 'the angel,' for his excellence; 'of the church,' for his appropriate pre-eminence and singularity; so, though presbyters had been called bishops in Scripture (of which there is not one example but in the senses above explicated, to wit, in conjunction and comprehension), yet the bishop is ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, by way of eminence, 'the bishop:' and, in descent of time, it came to pass that the compellation, which was always his, by way of eminence, was made his by appropriation. And a fair precedent of it we have from the compellation given to our blessed Saviour, ὁ μέγας ποίμην καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ψυχῶν,—"the great Shepherd, and Bishop of our souls." The name 'bishop' was made sacred by being the appellative of his person, and by fair intimation it does more immediately descend upon them, who had from Christ more immediate mission, and more ample power, and therefore 'episcopus' and 'pastor,' by way of eminence, are the most fit appellatives for them who in the Church have the greatest power, office, and dignity, as participating of the fulness of that power and authority, for which Christ was called 'the Bishop of our souls.' And besides this so fair a copy; besides the using of the word in the prophecy of the apostolate of Matthias, and in the prophet Isaiah, and often in Scripture, as I have shewn before; any one whereof is abundantly enough for the fixing an appellative upon a church-officer; this name may also be intimated as a distinctive compellation of a bishop over a priest; because ἐπισκοπὴ is indeed often used for the office of bishops, as in the instances above, but σκοπὴ is used for the office of the inferiors; for St. Paul writing to the Romans,[1] who then had no bishop fixed in the chair of Rome, does command them σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας ποιοῦντας: σκοπεῖν, not ἐπισκοπεῖν, this for the bishop, that for the

[1] Rom. xvi. 17.

subordinate clergy. So, then, the word 'episcopus' is fixed at first, and that by derivation, and example of Scripture, and fair congruity of reason.

SECTION XXV.

Calling the Bishop, and him only, the Pastor of the Church.

But the Church used other appellatives for bishops, which it is very requisite to specify, that we may understand divers authorities of the fathers, using those words in appropriation to bishops, which of late have been given to presbyters, ever since they have begun to set presbyters in the room of bishops.

And first, bishops were called 'pastors' in antiquity, in imitation of their being called so in Scripture. Eusebius, writing the story of St. Ignatius, "Denique cùm Smyrnam venisset, ubi Polycarpus erat, scribit inde unam epistolam ad Ephesios, eorumque pastorem," that is, Onesimus; for so follows, "in quâ meminit Onesimi."[a] Now that Onesimus was their bishop, himself witnesses in the epistle here mentioned, *τὴν πολυπάθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀτείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγητῷ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ*, &c.[b] Onesimus was their bishop, and therefore their pastor; and in his epistle "ad Antiochenos," himself makes mention of Evodius, *τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένος ὑμῶν*,—"your most blessed and worthy pastor."

When Paulus Samosatenus first broached his heresy against the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, presently a council was called, where St. Denis, bishop of Alexandria, could not be present: "Cæteri verò ecclesiarum pastores, diversis è locis et urbibus, convenerunt Antiochiam. In quibus insignes et cæteris præcellentes erant Firmilianus à Cæsarea Cappadociæ, Gregorius, et Athenodorus fratres, et Helenus Sardensis ecclesiæ episcopus: sed et Maximus Bostrensis episcopus dignus eorum consortio cohærebat."[c]

[a] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 36. [b] Epist. ad Ephes.
[c] Euseb. lib. vii. c. 24.

These bishops, Firmilianus, and Helenus, and Maximus, were the pastors; and not only so, but presbyters were not called pastors, for he proceeds, "sed et presbyteri quamplurimi, et diaconi ad supradictam urbem convenerunt." So that these were not under the general appellative of pastors. And the Council of Sardis,[d] making provision for the manner of election of a bishop to a widow-church, when the people is urgent for the speedy institution of a bishop, if any of the comprovincials be wanting, he must be certified by the primate, ὅτι ἀξιοῖ τὰ πλήθη ποιμένα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι,—"that the multitude require a pastor to be given unto them." The same expression is also in the epistle of Julius, bishop of Rome, to the presbyters, deacons, and people of Alexandria, in behalf of their bishop, Athanasius; "Suscipite itaque, fratres carissimi, cum omni Divinâ gratiâ pastorem vestrum ac præsulem tanquam vere ἀθανάσιον."[e] And a little after, "et gaudete fruentes orationibus, qui pastorem vestrum esuritis et sititis," &c. The same is often used in St. Hilary and St. Gregory Nazianzen, where bishops are called 'pastores magni,—great shepherds,' or 'pastors.' When Eusebius, the bishop of Samosata, was banished, "Universi lachrymis prosecuti sunt ereptionem pastoris sui," saith Theodoret:—"They wept for the loss of their pastor." And Eulogius, a presbyter of Edessa, when he was arguing with the prefect in behalf of Christianity, "Et pastorem (inquit) habemus, et nutus illius sequimur;—We have a pastor" (a bishop certainly, for himself was a priest), "and his commands we follow."[f] But I need not specify any more particular instances; I touched upon it before.[g] He that shall consider, that to bishops the regiment of the whole Church was concredited at the first, and the presbyters were but his assistants in cities and villages, and were admitted 'in partem sollicitudinis,' first casually and cursorily, and then, by station and fixed residence, when parishes were divided and endowed, will easily see, that this word 'pastor' must needs be appropriated to bishops, to whom, according to the conjunctive expression of St. Peter, and the practice of infant Christendom, ἐπισκοπὴ and ποιμαίνειν was intrusted, first solely, then in communication with others, but always principally.

[d] Can. 6.
[e] Hist. Tripart. lib. iv. c. 29.
[f] Lib. iv. c. 14.
[g] Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 18.

But now of late, especially in those places where the bishops are exauctorated, and nowhere else that I know, but amongst those men that have complying designs, the word 'pastor' is given to parish priests, against the manner and usage of ancient Christendom; and though priests may be called pastors in a limited subordinate sense, and by way of participation (just as they may be called angels, when the bishop is the angel, and so pastors when the bishop is the pastor, and so they are called 'pastores ovium,' in St. Cyprian);[h] but never are they called 'pastores' simply, or 'pastores ecclesiæ,' for above six hundred years in the Church, and I think eight hundred more. And, therefore, it was good counsel which St. Paul gave, to avoid 'vocum novitates,' because there is never any affectation of new words, contrary to the ancient voice of Christendom, but there is some design in the thing too, to make an innovation: and of this we have had long warning, in the new use of the word 'pastor.'

SECTION XXVI.

And Doctor.

If bishops were the pastors, then 'doctors' also; it was the observation which St. Augustin made out of Ephes. iv., as I quoted him even now, "For God hath given some apostles, some prophets—some pastors and doctors." So the Church hath learned to speak. In the Greeks' Council of Carthage it was decreed, that places which never had a bishop of their own should not now have καθηγητὴν ἴδιον,—"a doctor of their own;" that is, a bishop; but still be subject to the bishop of the diocese to whom formerly they gave obedience; and the title of the chapter is, that the parts of the diocese without the bishop's consent ἐπίσκοπον ἴνεμον μὴ δέχεσθαι,—"must not have another bishop." He who in the title is called 'bishop,' in the chapter is called the 'doctor.' And thus also Epiphanius, speaking of bishops, calleth them πατέρας, καὶ διδασκάλους,—"fathers and doctors,"[a] "Gratia

[h] Epist. xi. [a] Hæres. lxxv.

enim ecclesiæ laus doctoris est," saith St. Ambrose, speaking of the eminence of the bishop over the presbyters and subordinate clergy. The same also is to be seen in St. Austin,[b] Sedulius, and divers others. I deny not but it is in this appellative as in divers of the rest, that the presbyters may, in subordination, be also called doctors; for every presbyter must be διδακτικὸς,—"apt to teach;"[c] but yet this is expressed as a requisite in the particular office of a bishop, and nowhere expressly of a presbyter, that I can find in Scripture; but yet because, in all churches, it was by license of the bishop, that presbyters did preach, if at all, and in some churches the bishop only did it, particularly of Alexandria,—(Μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος διδάσκει, saith Sozomen,[d]) therefore it was that the presbyter, in the language of the Church, was not, but the bishop was often, called doctor of the Church.

SECTION XXVII.

And Pontifex.

The next word which the Primitive Church did use, as proper to express the offices and eminence of bishops, is 'pontifex,' and 'pontificatus' for 'episcopacy.' "Sed à Domino edocti consequentiam rerum, episcopis pontificatûs munera assignavimus," said the apostles, as St. Clement reports.[a] 'Pontificale πέταλον' St. John the apostle wore in his forehead, as an ensign of his apostleship, a gold plate or medal, when he was "in pontificalibus,—in his pontifical or apostolical habit," saith Eusebius.[b] "De dispensationibus ecclesiarum antiqua sanctio tenuit et definitio sanctorum patrum in Nicæâ convenientium—et si pontifices voluerint, ut cum eis vicini propter utilitatem celebrent ordinationes:" said the fathers of the Council of Constantinople.[c] "Quâ tempestate in urbe Româ Clemens quoque, tertius post Paulum et Petrum, pontificatum tenebat," saith Eusebius,[d] according to the translation of Ruffinus. "Apud Antiochiam vero Theophilus

[b] Epist. 59. [c] 1 Tim. viii. [d] Lib. vii. c. 19.
[a] Lib. viii. c. ult. Apost. Constitut. [b] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 31.
[c] Lib. ix. c. 14. Hist. Tripart. [d] Lib. iii. c. 21.

per idem tempus, sextus ab apostolis, ecclesiæ pontificatum tenebat;" saith the same Eusebius.[e] And there is a famous story of Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia, that when Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, was invalid and unfit for government, by reason of his extreme age, he was designed by a particular revelation and a voice from heaven; "Suscipite episcopum, qui vobis à Deo destinatus est:—Receive your bishop, whom God hath appointed for you;" but it was when Narcissus "jam senio fessus pontificatûs ministerio sufficere non posset," saith the story.[f] Eulogius, the confessor, discoursing with the prefect that wished him to comply with the emperor, asked him: "Numquid ille unà cum imperio etiam pontificatum est consequutus?—He hath an empire, but hath he also a bishoprick?" 'Pontificatus' is the word. But St. Dionysius is very exact in the distinction of clerical offices,[g] and particularly gives this account of the present: "Est igitur pontificatus ordo, qui præditus vi perficiente munera hierarchiæ quæ perficiunt," &c. And a little after, "Sacerdotum autem ordo subjectus pontificum ordini," &c. To which agrees St. Isidore,[h] in his "Etymologies:" "Ideo autem et presbyteri sacerdotes vocantur, quia sacrum dant sicut et episcopi, qui licet sacerdotes sint, tamen pontificatûs apicem non habent, quia nec chrismate frontem signant, nec Paracletum Spiritum dant, quod solis deberi episcopis lectio 'Actuum Apostolicorum' demonstrat;" and in the same chapter, "Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est."

One word more there is often used in antiquity for bishops, and that is 'sacerdos.' "Sacerdotum autem bipartitus est ordo," say St. Clement and Anacletus; for they are 'majores' and 'minores.' The 'majores, bishops,' the 'minores, presbyters;' for so it is in the Apostolical Constitutions attributed to St. Clement:[i] "Episcopis quidem assignavimus et attribuimus quæ ad principatum sacerdotii pertinent, presbyteris verò quæ ad sacerdotium." And in St. Cyprian,[k] "Presbyteri cum episcopis sacerdotali honore conjuncti." But although in such distinction and subordination, and in concretion, a presbyter is sometimes called 'sacerdos,' yet in antiquity 'sacerdotium ecclesiæ' does ever-

[e] Lib. iv. c. 20. [f] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 9. [g] Eccles. Hierarch.
[h] Lib. vii. 12. [i] Lib. viii. c. 46. [k] Lib. iii. Ep. 1.

more signify 'episcopacy,' and 'sacerdos ecclesiæ' the 'bishop.' "Theotecnus sacerdotium ecclesiæ tenens in episcopatu," saith Eusebius:[l] and "summus sacerdos," the 'bishop' always; "dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus," saith Tertullian:[m] and, indeed, 'sacerdos' alone is very seldom used in any respect but for the 'bishop,' unless when there is some distinctive term, and of higher report, given to the bishop at the same time.

"Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti adunata, et grex pastori suo adhærens," saith St. Cyprian.[n] And that we may know by 'sacerdos' he means the 'bishop,' his next words are, "Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesiâ esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo." And in the same epistle, "qui ad Cyprianum episcopum in carcere literas direxerunt, sacerdotem Dei agnoscentes, et contestantes." Eusebius,[p] reckoning some of the chief bishops assembled in the Council of Antioch, "In quibus erant Helenus Sardensis ecclesiæ episcopus, et Nicomas ab Iconio, et Hierosolymorum præcipuus sacerdos Hymenæus, et vicinæ huic urbis Cesareæ Theotecnus;" and in the same place, the bishops of Pontus are called "Ponti provinciæ sacerdotes." "Abilius apud Alexandriam tredecim annis sacerdotio ministrato, diem obiit;" for so long he was bishop; "cui succedit Cerdon tertius in sacerdotium." "Et Papias similiter apud Hierapolim sacerdotium gerens;" for he was bishop of Hierapolis, saith Eusebius:[p] and the bishop of the province of Arles,[q] speaking of their first bishop, Trophimus, ordained bishop by St. Peter, says, "Quod prima inter Gallias Arelatensis civitas missum à beatissimo Petro apostolo sanctum Trophimum habere meruit sacerdotem." The bishop also was ever designed, when 'antistes ecclesiæ' was the word. "Melito quoque Sardensis ecclesiæ antistes," saith Eusebius out of Irenæus:[r] προεστὼς is the name in Greek, and used for the bishop by Justin Martyr, and is of the same authority and use with 'prælatus' and 'præpositus ecclesiæ.' "Antistes autem sacerdos dictus, ab eo quod antistat. Primus est enim in ordine ecclesiæ: et supra se nullum habet," saith St. Isidore.

[l] Lib. vii. c. 28. [m] Lib. de Baptism. [n] Epist. 69.
[o] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 21. [p] Lib. iii. c. 35.
[q] Epist. Com. Provinc. ad S. Leonem. [r] Lib. iv. c. 26.

But in those things, which are of no question, I need not insist. One title more I must specify, to prevent misprision upon a mistake of theirs of a place in St. Ambrose.[s] The 'bishop' is sometimes called 'primus presbyter.'—"Nam et Timotheum episcopum à se creatum presbyterum vocat: quia primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente eo sequens ei succederet."[t] Elections were made of bishops out of the college of presbyters: "Presbyteri unum ex se electum episcopum nominabant," saith St. Jerome; but at first this election was made, not according to merit, but according to seniority; and, therefore, bishops were called 'primi presbyteri;' that is St. Ambrose's sense. But St. Austin gives another, 'primi presbyteri,' that is, 'chief above the presbyters.'—"Quid est episcopus nisi primus presbyter, *h. e.* summus sacerdos," saith he.[u] And St. Ambrose himself gives a better exposition of his words than is intimated in that clause before: "Episcopi, et presbyteri una ordinatio est: uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est; ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non omnis presbyter episcopus. Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est."[x] The bishop is 'primus presbyter,' that is, 'primus sacerdos, *h. e.* princeps est sacerdotum,' so he expounds it; not 'princeps' or 'primus inter presbyteros,' himself remaining a mere presbyter, but 'princeps presbyterorum;' for 'primus presbyter' could not be 'episcopus' in another sense, he is the chief, not the senior of the presbyters. Nay, 'princeps presbyterorum' is used in a sense lower than 'episcopus;' for Theodoret, speaking of St. John Chrysostom, saith, that "having been the first presbyter at Antioch, yet he refused to be made bishop for a long time;" "Johannes enim, qui diutissimè princeps fuit presbyterorum Antiochiæ, ac sæpe electus præsul, perpetuus vitator dignitatis illius de hoc admirabili solo pullulavit."[y]

The Church also, in her first language, when she spake of 'præpositus ecclesiæ,' meant the 'bishop of the diocese.' Of this there are innumerable examples, but most plentifully in St. Cyprian, in his epistles;[z] and in Tertullian's book "ad

[s] Lib. vii. Etymol. c. 12.
[t] Comment. in Ephes. iv.
[u] Quæst. Vet. et N. Testam. qu. 101.
[x] In 1 Tim. iii.
[y] In Ephes. iv.
[z] Epist. 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 23, 27.

Martyres;" and infinite places more. Of which this advantage is to be made, that the Primitive Church did generally understand those places of Scripture which speak of 'prelates,' or 'præpositi,' to be meant of 'bishops;' "Obedite præpositis," saith St. Paul;[a]—"Obey your prelates, or them that are set over you." "Præpositi autem pastores sunt," saith St. Austin;—"Prelates are they that are pastors." But St. Cyprian sums up many of them together, and insinuates the several relations, expressed in the several compellations of bishops. For, writing against Florentius Pupianus, "Ac nisi," saith he,[b] "apud te purgati fuerimus, ecce jam sex annis nec fraternitas habuerit episcopum, nec plebs præpositum, nec grex pastorem, nec ecclesia gubernatorem, nec Christus antistitem, nec Deus sacerdotes;" and all this he means of himself, who had then been "six years bishop of Carthage, a prelate of the people, a governor to the Church, a pastor to the flock, a priest of the Most High God, a minister of Christ."

The sum is this: When we find in antiquity any thing asserted of any order of the hierarchy, under the names of 'episcopus,' or 'princeps sacerdotum,' or 'presbyterorum primus,' or 'pastor,' or 'doctor,' or 'pontifex,' or 'major,' or 'primus sacerdos,' or 'sacerdotium ecclesiæ habens,' or 'antistes ecclesiæ,' or 'ecclesiæ sacerdos' (unless there be a specification, and limiting of it to a parochial and inferior minister), it must be understood of 'bishops' in its present acceptation. For these words are all, by way of eminence, and most of them by absolute appropriation and singularity, the appellations and distinctive names of 'bishops.'

SECTION XXVIII.

And these were a distinct Order from the rest.

But, ὀνόματα τῶν πραγμάτων μιμήματα, saith the philosopher: and this their distinction of names did, amongst the fathers of the Primitive Church, denote a distinction of calling and office supereminent to the rest.

[a] Heb. xiii. [b] Epist. 69.

For, first, bishops are, by all antiquity, reckoned as a distinct office of clergy. "Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quilibet de numero clericorum, —— pergat ad alienam parochiam præter episcopi sui conscientiam," &c. So it is in the fifteenth canon of the Apostles; and so it is there plainly distinguished as an office different from presbyter and deacon, above thirty times in those canons, and distinct powers given to the bishop, which are not given to the other, and to the bishop above the other. The Council of Ancyra,[a] inflicting censures upon presbyters first, then deacons which had fallen in time of persecution, gives leave to the bishop to mitigate the pains as he sees cause: "Sed si ex episcopis aliqui in iis vel afflictionem aliquam — viderint, in eorum potestate id esse." The canon would not suppose any bishops to fall, for, indeed, they seldom did; but, for the rest, provision was made for both their penances and indulgence, at the discretion of the bishop. And yet sometimes they did fall; Optatus bewails it, but, withal, gives evidence of their distinction of order: "Quid commemorem laicos, qui tunc in ecclesiâ nullâ fuerant dignitate suffulti? Quid ministros plurimos, quid diaconos in tertio, quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices, et principes omnium aliqui episcopi aliqua instrumenta Divinæ legis impiè tradiderunt: — The laity, the ministers, the deacons, the presbyters, nay, the bishops themselves, the princes and chief of all, proved traitors."[b] The diversity of order is here fairly intimated, but dogmatically affirmed by him in his second book adv. Parmen.: "Quatuor genera capitum sunt in ecclesiâ, episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, et fidelium: — There are four sorts of heads in the Church, — bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the faithful laity." And it was remarkable, when the people of Hippo had, as it were, by violence carried St. Austin to be made priest by their bishop, Valerius, some, seeing the good man weep in consideration of the great hazard and difficulty accruing to him in his ordination to such an office, thought he had wept because he was not bishop; they, pretending comfort, told him, "Quia locus presbyterii, licèt ipse majore dignus esset, appropinquaret tamen episcopatui: — The office of a presbyter, though

[a] Can. 1. and 2. [b] Lib. ad Parmen.

indeed he deserved a greater, yet was the next step in order to a bishoprick." So Passidonius tells the story.[c] It was the next step, the next descent in subordination, the next under it. So the Council of Chalcedon: Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱερόσυλόν ἐστιν·—"It is sacrilege to bring down a bishop to the degree and order of a presbyter," ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποκινεῖν so the council permits in case of great delinquency, to suspend him from the execution of his episcopal order, but still the character remains, and the degree of itself is higher.[d]

"Nos autem idcirco hæc scribimus, fratres carissimi, quia novimus quàm sacrosanctum debeat esse episcopale sacerdotium, quod et clero, et plebi debet esse exemplo," said the fathers of the Council of Antioch, in Eusebius;[e]—"The office of a bishop is sacred, and exemplary both to the clergy and the people." "Interdixit, per omnia, magna synodus, non episcopo, non presbytero, non diacono licere,"[f] &c. And it was a remarkable story, that Arius troubled the Church for missing of a prelation to the order and dignity of a bishop. "Post Achillam enim Alexander—ordinatur episcopus: hoc autem tempore Arius in ordine presbyterorum fuit:—Alexander was ordained a bishop, and Arius still left in the order of mere presbyters." Of the same exigence are all those clauses of commemoration of a bishop and presbyters of the same church. "Julius autem Romanus episcopus propter senectutem defuit, erantque pro eo præsentes Vitus, et Vicentius presbyteri ejusdem ecclesiæ:—They were his vicars, and deputies for their bishop in the Nicene Council," saith Sozomen. But most pertinent is that of the Indian persecution, related by the same man.[g] Many of them were put to death. "Erant autem horum alii quidem episcopi, alii presbyteri, alii diversorum ordinum clerici." And this difference of order is clear in the epistle of the bishops of Illyricum to the bishops of the Levant: "De episcopis autem constituendis, vel comministris jam constitutis, si permanserint usque ad finem sani, bene—similiter presbyteros atque diaconos in sacerdotali ordine definivimus," &c. And of Sabbatius it is said, "Nolens in suo ordine manere presbyte-

[c] De Vita August. c. iv.
[d] Can. 29.
[e] Lib. vii. c. 26.
[f] Can. 3. Nicene Council.
[g] Lib. ii. c. 1. Hist. Tripart. Lib. iii. Tripart. c. 2.

ratus, desiderabat episcopatum;—He would not stay in the order of a presbyter, but desired a bishoprick."—"Ordo episcoporum quadripartitus est, in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, metropolitanis, et episcopis," saith St. Isidore; "Omnes autem superius designati ordines uno eodemque vocabulo episcopi nominantur."[h] But it were infinite to reckon authorities, and clauses of exclusion, for the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; we cannot almost dip in any tome of the councils but we shall find it recorded: and all the martyr-bishops of Rome did ever acknowledge and publish it, that episcopacy is a peculiar office and order in the Church of God; as is to be seen in their decretal epistles, in the first tome of the councils. I only sum this up with the attestation of the Church of England, in the preface to the book of ordination: "It is evident to all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that, from the apostles' times, there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church,—bishops, priests, and deacons."[i] The same thing exactly that was said in the second Council of Carthage;[k] τρεῖς βαθμοὺς τούτους, φημὶ δὲ, ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους. But we shall see it better, and by more real probation, for that bishops were a distinct order appears by this:

SECTION XXIX.

To which the Presbyterate was but a Degree.

1. The presbyterate was but a step to episcopacy, as deaconship to the presbyterate; and, therefore, the Council of Sardis decreed,[a] that no man should be ordained bishop, but he that was first a reader, and a deacon, and a presbyter, ἵνα καθ' ἕκαστον βαθμὸν—εἰς τὴν ἀψῖδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, κατὰ πρόοδον διαζῆναι δυνηθείη·—"That by every degree he may pass to the sublimity of episcopacy." Ἔξει δὲ ἑκάστου τάγματος ὁ βαθμὸς οὐκ ἐλαχίστου δηλονότι χρόνου μῆκος, &c. "But the degree of every order must have the permanence and trial of no small

[h] Hist. Tripart. lib. xi. c. 5. Etymol. lib. vii. c. 12.
[i] Per Binium Paris. [k] Can. 2. [a] Can. 10.

time." Here there is clearly a distinction of orders and ordinations, and assumptions to them respectively, all of the same distance and consideration; and Theodoret,[b] out of the synodical epistle of the same council, says, that they complained that some from Arianism were reconciled, and promoted from deacons to be presbyters, from presbyters to be bishops, calling it μείζονα βαθμὸν,—'a greater degree,' or 'order:' and St. Gregory Nazianz., in his Encomium of St. Athanasius, speaking of his canonical ordination and election to a bishoprick, says, that he was chosen being ἀξιάγαστος,—"most worthy," and πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν βαθμῶν ἀκολουθίαν διεξελθὼν,—"coming through all the inferior orders." The same commendation St. Cyprian gives of Cornelius:[c] "Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpè promeritus ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit; et factus est episcopus à plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Româ aderant, qui ad nos literas de ejus ordinatione miserunt." Here is evident, not only a promotion, but a new ordination of St. Cornelius to be bishop of Rome; so that "now the chair is full," saith St. Cyprian; "et quisquis jam episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est, nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem," &c.: "No man else can receive ordination to the bishoprick."

SECTION XXX.

There being a peculiar Manner of Ordination to a Bishoprick.

2. THE ordination of a bishop to his chair was done 'de novo,' after his being a presbyter; and not only so, but in another manner than he had when he was made priest. This is evident in the first ecclesiastical canon that was made after Scripture.[a] Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν· πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω, καὶ διάκονος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί·—"A priest and deacon must be ordained of one bishop, but a bishop must be ordained by two or three at least." And that we may see it yet more to be apostolical,

[b] Lib. v. c. 8. [c] Epist. 52. [a] Can. Apost. 1. et 2.

St. Anacletus, in his second epistle, reports, "Hierosolymitarum primus episcopus B. Jacobus à Petro, Jacobo, et Johanne apostolis est ordinatus." Three apostles went to the ordaining of St. James to be a bishop, and the self-same thing is in words affirmed by Anicetus:[b] "Ut in ore duorum, vel trium stet omnis veritas;" and St. Cyprian observes, that when Cornelius was made bishop of Rome, there happened to be many of his fellow-bishops there, "et factus est episcopus à plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Româ aderant." These 'collegæ' could not be mere priests; for then the ordination of Novatus had been more canonical than that of Cornelius, and all Christendom had been deceived; for not Novatus, who was ordained by three bishops, —but Cornelius, had been the schismatic, as being ordained by priests against the canon. But here I observe it for the word 'plurimis,' there were 'many' of them at that ordination.

In pursuance of this apostolical ordinance, the Nicene fathers decreed,[c] that a bishop should be ordained ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ,—"by all the bishops in the province," unless it be in case of necessity; and then it must be done by three being gathered together, and the rest consenting; so the ordination to be performed. The same is ratified in the Council of Antioch,[d] Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας·—"A bishop is not to be ordained without a synod of bishops, and the presence of the metropolitan of the province." But if this cannot be done conveniently, yet however it is required,[e] μετὰ τῆς τῶν πλειόνων παρουσίας, ἢ ψήφου γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν·—"the ordinations must be performed by many." The same was decreed in the Council of Laodicea, can. 12., in the thirteenth canon of the African code, in the twenty-second canon of the first Council of Arles, and the fifth canon of the second Council of Arles, and was ever the practice of the Church; and so we may see it descend through the bowels of the fourth Council of Carthage to the inferior ages. "Episcopus quum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant, et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput, et cervicem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant."

[b] Epist. Unica. [c] Can. 4. [d] Can. 19. [e] Can. 12.

The thing was catholic and canonical. It was "prima, et immutabilis constitutio;" so the first canon of the Council of Epaunum calls it;[f] and, therefore, after the death of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, a schism was made about his successor, and Evagrius's ordination condemned;[g] because "præter ecclesiasticam regulam fuerit ordinatus;—it was against the rule of Holy Church." Why so? "Solus enim Paulinus eum instituerat, plurimas regulas prævaricatus ecclesiasticas. Non enim præcipiunt ut per se quilibet ordinare possit, sed convocare universos provinciæ sacerdotes, et præter per tres pontifices ordinationem penitus fieri interdicunt." Which because it was not observed in the ordination of Evagrius, who was not ordained by three bishops, the ordination was cassated in the Council of Rhegium. And we read, that when Novatus would fain be made a bishop, in the schism against Cornelius, he did it "tribus adhibitis episcopis," saith Eusebius: "he obtained three bishops," for performance of the action.[h]

Now, besides these apostolical and catholic canons and precedents, this thing, according to the constant and united interpretation of the Greek fathers, was actually done in the ordination of St. Timothy to the bishoprick of Ephesus: "Neglect not the grace, that is in thee by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." The Latin fathers expound it abstractly, viz. to signify the office of priesthood, that is, 'neglect not the grace of priesthood, that is in thee by the imposition of hands;' and this Erasmus helps, by making 'presbyterii' to pertain to 'gratiam,' by a new interpunction of the words; but however, 'presbyterii,' with the Latin fathers, signifies 'presbyteratus,' not 'presbyterorum;' and this 'presbyteratus' is, in their sense, used for 'episcopatus' too. But the Greek fathers understand it collectively, and πρεσβυτερίου is put for πρεσβυτέρων, not simply such, but bishops too, all agree in that, that episcopacy is either meant in office, or in person. Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπισκόπους φησίν; so Oecumenius: and St. Chrysostom, οὐ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων φησιν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπισκόπων: so Theophylact; so Theodoret. The probation of this lies upon right reason and catholic tradition; for,

[f] A.D. 309. [g] Theodoret, lib. ix. c. 44.

[h] Cap. 1, 2. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 33.

SECTION XXXI.

To which Presbyters never did assist by imposing Hands.

3. The bishop's ordination was peculiar in this respect, above the presbyter's; for a presbyter did never impose hands on a bishop. On a presbyter they did, ever since the fourth Council of Carthage; but never on a bishop. And that was the reason of the former exposition. By the 'presbytery' St. Paul means 'bishops,' οὐ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐχειροτόνησαν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον·—"presbyters did not impose hands on a bishop," and, therefore, 'presbyterium' is not a college of mere presbyters, for such could never ordain St. Timothy to be a bishop. The same reason is given by the Latin fathers, why they expound 'presbyterium' to signify 'episcopacy.' For, saith St. Ambrose, "St. Paul had ordained Timothy to be a bishop; unde, et quemadmodum episcopum ordinet, ostendit. Neque enim fas erat, aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem:" so he; and subjoins this reason, "Nemo enim tribuit quod non accepit." The same is affirmed by St. Chrysostom, and generally by the authors of the former expositions, that is, the fathers both of the east and west. For it was so general and catholic a truth, that priests could not, might not, lay hands on a bishop, that there was never any example of it in Christendom till almost six hundred years after Christ, and that but once, and that irregular, and that without imitation of his successors, or example in his antecessors. It was the case of Pope Pelagius the First:[a] "Et dum non essent episcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, Johannes de Perusio, et Bonus de Ferentino, et Andreas presbyter de Ostiâ, et ordinaverunt eum pontificem. Tunc enim non erant in clero, qui eum possent promovere,—saith Damasus;[b] "It was in case of necessity, because there were not three bishops, therefore he procured two, and a priest of Ostia to supply the place of the third," that three, according to the direction apostolical, and canons of Nice, Antioch, and Carthage, make episcopal ordination. The Church of Rome is concerned in the business to make

[a] A.D. 555. [b] In Libr. Pontificali. Vit. Pelag. I.

fair this ordination, and to reconcile it to the Council of Rhegium, and the others before mentioned, who, if asked, would declare it to be invalid. But certainly, as the canons did command three to impose hands on a bishop, so also they commanded that those three should be three bishops; and Pelagius might as well not have had three, as not three bishops; and better, because, so they were bishops, the first canon of the apostles approves the ordination if done 'by two,' ἐπισκόπων δύο, ἢ τριῶν. And the Nicene canon is as much exact, in requiring the capacity of the person, as the number of the ordainers. But let them answer it. For my part, I believe that the imposition of hands by Andreas, was no more in that case than if a layman had done it; it was χεὶρ ἄκυρος, and though the ordination was absolutely uncanonical, yet it being in the exigence of necessity, and being done by two bishops, according to the apostolical canon, it was valid 'in naturâ rei,' though not 'in formâ canonis,' and the addition of the priest was but to cheat the canon, and cozen himself into an impertinent belief of a canonical ordination. Ἐπίσκοποι ἐπισκόπους καθιστᾶν ὀφείλουσιν, saith the Council of Sardis;[c]—"Bishops must ordain bishops:" it was never heard that priests did, or, 'de jure,' might.

These premises do most certainly infer a real difference between episcopacy and the presbyterate. But whether or no they infer a difference of order, or only of degree; or whether degree and order be all one or no, is of great consideration in the present, and in relation to many other questions.

1. Then it is evident, that in antiquity 'ordo' and 'gradus' were used promiscuously. Βαθμὸς was the Greek word, and for it the Latins used 'ordo,' as is evident in the instances above mentioned; to which add, that Anacletus says,[d] that Christ did "instituere duos ordines, episcoporum et sacerdotum." And St. Leo affirms:[e] "Primum ordinem esse episcopalem, secundum presbyteralem, tertium Leviticum;" and these among the Greeks are called τρεῖς βαθμοί,—'three degrees.' So the order of deaconship in St. Paul is called καλὸς βαθμὸς,—"a good degree;" and βαθμοῦ ἐκπίπτειν, &c. is a censure used alike in the censures of bishops, priests, and

[c] Can. 9. Concil. Sardic. [d] Epist. 3. [e] Epist. 84. c. 4.

deacons. They are all of the same name, and the same consideration, for order, distance, and degree, amongst the fathers; gradus and ordo are equally affirmed of them all; and the word gradus is used sometimes for that, which is called ordo most frequently. So Felix,[f] writing to St. Austin, "Non tantum ego possum contra tuam virtutem, quia mira virtus est gradus episcopalis;" and St. Cyprian of Cornelius:[g] "Ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit." Degree and order are used in common; for he that speaks most properly, will call that an order in persons, which corresponds to a degree in qualities; and neither of the words are wronged by a mutual substitution.

2. The promotion of a bishop 'ad munus episcopale,' was at first called 'ordinatio episcopi.' "Stir up the grace that is in thee," "juxta ordinationem tuam in episcopatum," saith Sedulius; and St. Jerome,[h] "Prophetiæ gratiam habebat cum ordinatione episcopatus."—"Neque enim fas erat aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem," saith St. Ambrose, proving that presbyters might not impose hands on a bishop. "Romanorum ecclesia Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit," saith Tertullian; and St. Jerome affirms,[i] that "St. James was ordained bishop of Jerusalem immediately after the passion of our Lord." 'Ordinatus' was the word at first, and afterwards 'consecratus' came in conjunction with it, when Moses, the monk, was to be ordained, to wit, a bishop, (for that is the title of the story in Theodoret), and spied that Lucius was there ready to impose hands on him: "Absit," says he, "ut manus tua me consecret."[k]

3. In all orders, there is the impress of a distinct character; that is, the person is qualified with a new capacity to do certain offices, which, before his ordination, he had no power to do. A deacon hath an order or power,

> ——— Quo pocula vitæ
> Misceat, et latices cum sanguine porrigat agni;

as Arator himself, a deacon, expresses it. A presbyter hath a higher order or degree in the office or ministry of the Church, whereby he is enabled, προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ λειτουργεῖν

[f] Lib. i. c. 12. de Actis cum Felice Manich.
[g] Lib. iv. epist. 2.
[h] In 1 Tim. iii.
[i] De Præscript. c. 32.
[k] Lib. iv. c. 23.

τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν, as the Council of Ancyra does intimate.[1] But a bishop hath a higher yet; for besides all the offices communicated to priests and deacons, he can give orders, which very one thing makes episcopacy to be a distinct order. For 'ordo' is designed by the schools to be "traditio potestatis spiritualis, et collatio gratiæ, ad obeunda ministeria ecclesiastica:—a giving a spiritual power, and a conferring grace for the performance of ecclesiastical ministrations. Since, then, episcopacy hath a new ordination, and a distinct power, as I shall shew in the descent, it must needs be a distinct order, both according to the name given it by antiquity, and according to the nature of the thing in the definitions of the school.

There is nothing said against this but a fancy of some of the Church of Rome, obtruded, indeed, upon no grounds; for they would define order to be "a special power in relation to the holy sacrament," which they call "corpus Christi naturale;" and episcopacy, indeed, to be a distinct power, in relation "ad corpus Christi mysticum," or the regiment of the Church, and ordaining labourers for the harvest, and, therefore, not to be a distinct order.

But this to them that consider things sadly, is true or false, according as any man list. For if these men are resolved they will call nothing an order but what is a power in order to the consecration of the eucharist,—who can help it? Then, indeed, in that sense, episcopacy is not a distinct order; that is, a bishop hath no new power in the consecration of the venerable eucharist, more than a presbyter hath. But then why these men should only call this power 'an order,' no man can give a reason. For, 1. In antiquity, the distinct power of a bishop was ever called an order, and I think, before Hugo de S. Victore, and the Master of the Sentences, no man ever denied it to be an order. 2. According to this rate, I would fain know the office of a subdeacon, and of an ostiary, and of an acolouthite, and of a reader, come to be distinct orders; for surely the bishop hath as much power in order to consecration 'de novo,' as they have 'de integro.' And, if I mistake not, that the bishop hath a new power to ordain presbyters who shall have a

[1] Cap. 1.

power of consecrating the eucharist, is more a new power in order to consecration, than all those inferior officers put together have in all; and yet they call them orders; and, therefore, why not episcopacy also, I cannot imagine, unless because they will not.

But, however, in the meantime, the denying the office and degree of episcopacy to be a new and distinct order, is an innovation of the production of some in the Church of Rome, without all reason, and against all antiquity. This only by the way.

The enemies of episcopacy call in aid, from all places, for support of their ruinous cause, and, therefore, take their main hopes from the Church of Rome, by advantage of the former discourse. For since, say they, that consecration of the sacrament is the greatest work, of the most secret mystery, greatest power, and highest dignity, that is competent to man, and this a presbyter hath as well as a bishop,—is it likely that a bishop should, by Divine institution, be so much superior to a presbyter, who, by the confession of all sides, communicates with a bishop in that which is his highest power? And shall issues of a lesser dignity distinguish the orders, and make a bishop higher to a presbyter, and not rather the greater raise up a presbyter to the counterpoise of a bishop?—Upon this surmise, the men of the Church of Rome would infer an identity of order, though a disparity of degree, but the men of the other world would infer a parity both of order and degree too.[m] The first are already answered in the premises; the second must now be served.

1. Then, whether power be greater, of ordaining priests, or consecrating the sacrament, is an impertinent question; possibly it may be of some danger; because, in comparing God's ordinances, there must certainly be a depression of one, and whether that lights upon the right side or no, yet peradventure, it will not stand with the consequence of our gratitude to God, to do that which, in God's estimate, may tantamount to a direct undervaluing; but however it is unprofitable, of no use in case of conscience, either in order to faith or manners; and, besides, cannot fix itself upon any

[m] S. Hieron. ad Rusticum Narbonens. apud Gratian. dist. 95. Cad. Ecce Ego Casus, ibid.

basis, there being no way of proving either to be more excellent than the other.

2. The sacraments and mysteries of Christianity, if compared among themselves, are greater and lesser in several respects. For since they are all in order to several ends, that is, productive of several effects, and they all are excellent,—every rite and sacrament, in respect of its own effect, is more excellent than the other not ordained to that effect. For example: matrimony is ordained for a means to preserve chastity, and to represent the mystical union of Christ and his Church; and, therefore, in these respects, is greater than baptism, which does neither. But baptism is for remission of sins,[n] and, in that, is more excellent than matrimony: the same may be said for ordination, and consecration; the one being in order to Christ's natural body, as the schools speak; the other in order to his mystical body, and so have their several excellences respectively; but for an absolute pre-eminence of one above the other, I said there was no basis to fix that upon, and I believe all men will find it so, that please to try. But in a relative or respective excellence, they go both before and after one another. Thus wool and a jewel are better than each other; for wool is better for warmth, and a jewel for ornament. A frog hath more sense in it than the sun, and yet the sun shines brighter.

3. Suppose consecration of the eucharist were greater than ordaining priests, yet that cannot hinder but that the power of ordaining may make a higher and distinct order; because the power of ordaining hath in it the power of consecrating and something more; it is all that which makes the priest, and it is something more besides which makes the bishop. Indeed if the bishop had it not, and the priest had it, then supposing consecration to be greater than ordination, the priest would not only equal but excel the bishop; but because the bishop hath that, and ordination besides,—therefore he is higher both in order and dignity.

4. Suppose that consecration were the greatest clerical power in the world, and that the bishop and the priest were equal in the greatest power, yet a lesser power than it, superadded to the bishops, may make a distinct order and

[n] The Nicene Creed.

superiority. Thus it was said of the Son of Man, "Constituit eum paulò minorem angelis;—He was made a little lower than the angels." It was but a little lower, and yet so much as to distinguish their natures, for he took not upon him the "nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham." So it is in proportion between bishop and priest; for though a priest, communicating in the greatest power of the Church, viz. consecration of the venerable eucharist, yet differing in a less, is "paulò minor angelis;—a little lower than the bishop, the angel of the Church;" yet this 'little lower' makes a distinct order, and enough for a subordination. An angel and a man communicate in those great excellences of spiritual essence: they both discourse; they have both election and freedom of choice; they have will, and understanding, and memory, impresses of the Divine image,—and locomotion, and immortality. And these excellences are (being precisely considered) of more real and eternal worth, than the angelical manner of moving so in an instant, and those other forms and modalities of their knowledge and volition; and yet for these superadded parts of excellence, the difference is no less than specifical. If we compare a bishop and a priest thus, what we call difference in nature there, will be a difference in order here, and of the same consideration.

5. Lastly, it is considerable, that these men that make this objection, do not make it because they think it true, but because it will serve a present turn. For all the world sees, that to them that deny the real presence, this can be no objection; and most certainly the anti-episcopal men do so, in all senses; and then, what excellence is there in the power of consecration, more than in ordination? Nay, is there any such thing as consecration at all? This also would be considered from their principles. But I proceed.

One thing only more is objected against the main question. If episcopacy be a distinct order, why may not a man be a bishop that never was a priest, as (abstracting from the laws of the Church) a man may be a presbyter that never was a deacon; for if it be the impress of a distinct character, it may be imprinted 'per saltum,' and independently, as it is in the order of a presbyter?

To this I answer, It is true, if the powers and characters themselves were independent; as it is in all those offices of

human constitution, which are called the inferior orders: for the office of an acolouthite, of an exorcist, of an ostiary, are no way dependent on the office of a deacon; and, therefore, a man may be deacon that never was in any of those; and perhaps a presbyter too that never was a deacon, as it was in the first example of the presbyterate in the Seventy-two disciples. But a bishop, though he have a distinct character, yet it is not disparate from that of a presbyter, but supposes it 'ex vi ordinis.' For since the power of ordination (if any thing be) is the distinct capacity of a bishop, this power supposes a power of consecrating the eucharist to be in the bishop; for how else can he ordain a presbyter with a power, that himself hath not? Can he give what himself hath not received?

I end this point with the saying of Epiphanius: "Vox est Aerii hæretici, Unus est ordo episcoporum et presbyterorum, una dignitas;°—To say that bishops are not a distinct order from presbyters, was a heresy first broached by Aerius," and hath lately been (at least in the manner of speaking) countenanced by many of the Church of Rome.

SECTION XXXII.

For Bishops had a Power distinct and superior to that of Presbyters. As of Ordination.

For to clear the distinction of order, it is evident in antiquity, that bishops had a power of imposing hands, for collating of orders, which presbyters have not. What was done in this affair in the times of the apostles, I have already explicated: but now the inquiry is, What the Church did in pursuance of the practice and tradition apostolical? The first and second canons of Apostles command, that two or three bishops should ordain a bishop, and one bishop should ordain a priest and a deacon. A presbyter is not authorized to ordain; a bishop is. St. Dionysius affirms, "Sacerdotem non posse initiari, nisi per invocationes episcopales," and

° Hæres. 75.

acknowledges no ordainer but a bishop.[a] No more did the Church ever; insomuch that when Novatus, the father of the old Puritans, did 'ambire episcopatum,' he was fain to go to the utmost parts of Italy, and seduce or entreat some bishops to impose hands on him, as Cornelius witnesses in his epistle to Fabianus, in Eusebius.[b] To this we may add, as so many witnesses, all those ordinations made by the bishops of Rome, mentioned in the pontifical book of Damasus Platina, and others. "Habitis de more sacris ordinibus Decembris mense, presbyteros decem, diaconos duos, &c. creat S. Clemens: Anacletus presbyteros quinque, diaconos tres, episcopos diversis in locis sex numero creavit;" and so in descent, for all the bishops of that succession, for many ages together.

But let us see how this power of ordination went in the bishop's hand alone, by law and constitution; for particular examples are infinite.

In the Council of Ancyra it is determined, *χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*·—"That rural bishops shall not ordain presbyters or deacons in another's diocese, without letters of license from the bishop. Neither shall the priests of the city attempt it."[c] First, not rural bishops, that is, bishops that are taken 'in adjutorium episcopi principalis,—vicars to the bishop of the diocese,' they must not ordain priests and deacons. For it is *ἑτέρα παροικία*,—"it is another's diocese," and to be *ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος* is prohibited by the canon of Scripture. But then they may with license? Yes; for they had episcopal ordination at first, but not episcopal jurisdiction, and so were not to invade the territories of their neighbour. The tenth canon of the Council of Antioch clears this part. The words are these, as they are rendered by Dionysius Exiguus: "Qui in villis, et vicis constituti sunt chorepiscopi, tametsi manûs impositionem ab episcopis susceperunt, [et ut episcopi sunt consecrati] tamen oportet eos modum proprium retinere," &c. *εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες*, the next clause, "et ut episcopi consecrati sunt," although it be in very ancient Latin copies, yet it is not found in the Greek, but is an 'assumentum' for exposition of the Greek,

[a] Eccles. Hier. c. v. [b] Lib. vi. c. 23. [c] Can. 13.

but is most certainly implied in it; for else, what description could this be of 'chorepiscopi,' above 'presbyteri rurales,' to say that they were χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, for so had country priests, they had received imposition of the bishop's hands. Either then the chorepiscopi had received ordination from three bishops, and ἐπισκόπων is to be taken collectively, not distributively, to wit, that each country-bishop had received ordination from bishops; many bishops in conjunction, and so they were very bishops; or else they had no more than village-priests, and then this caution had been impertinent.

But the city-priests were also included in this prohibition. True it is, but it is in a parenthesis, with an ἀλλὰ μηδὲ, in the midst of the canon; and there was some particular reason for the involving them; not that they ever did actually ordain any; but that since it was prohibited to the chorepiscopi to ordain, (to them I say, who though, for want of jurisdiction, they might not ordain without license, it being 'in alienâ parochiâ,' yet they had capacity by their order to do it,) if these should do it, the city-presbyters,—who were often despatched into the villages upon the same employment, by a temporary mission, that the chorepiscopi were, by an ordinary and fixed residence,—might, perhaps, think that their commission might extend further than it did; or that they might go beyond it, as well as the chorepiscopi; and therefore their way was obstructed by this clause of ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως. Add to this; the presbyters of the city were of great honour and peculiar privilege, as appears in the thirteenth canon of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea, and, therefore, might easily exceed, if the canon had not been their bridle.

The sum of the canon is this. With the bishop's license the chorepiscopi might ordain; for themselves had episcopal ordination: but without license they might not; for they had but delegate and subordinate jurisdiction: and, therefore, in the fourteenth canon of Neo-Cæsarea, are said to be εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα,—'like the seventy disciples,' that is, inferior to bishops, as the seventy were to the twelve apostles; viz. 'in hoc particulari,' not in order, but like them in subordination and inferiority of jurisdiction: but the city-presbyters might not ordain, neither with nor without license; for they are in

the canon only by way of parenthesis and the sequence of procuring a faculty from the bishops to collate orders, is to be referred to 'chorepiscopi,' not to 'presbyteri civitatis,' unless we should strain this canon into a sense contrary to the practice of the catholic Church. 'Res enim ordinis non possunt delegari,' is a most certain rule in divinity, and admitted by men of all sides and most different interests. However, we see here that they were prohibited; and we never find, before this time, that any of them actually did give orders, neither by ordinary power, nor extraordinary dispensation; and the constant tradition of the Church, and practice apostolical, is, that they never could give orders: therefore this exposition of the canon is liable to no exception, but is clear for the illegality of a presbyter giving holy orders either to a presbyter or a deacon,—and is concluding for the necessity of concurrence, both of episcopal order and jurisdiction for ordinations; for 'reddendo singula singulis,' and expounding this canon according to the sense of the Church and exigence of catholic custom, the chorepiscopi are excluded from giving orders, for want of jurisdiction,—and the priests of the city, for want of order; the first may be supplied by a delegate power 'in literis episcopalibus;' the second cannot, but by a new ordination, that is, by making the priest a bishop. For if a priest of the city have not so much power as a chorepiscopus, as I have proved he hath not, by shewing that the chorepiscopus then had episcopal ordination, and yet the chorepiscopus might not collate orders without a faculty from the bishop,—the city-priests might not do it, unless more be added to them; for their want was more. They not only want jurisdiction, but something besides, and that must needs be 'order.'

But although these chorepiscopi, at the first, had episcopal ordination, yet it was quickly taken from them, for their encroachment upon the bishop's diocese; and as they were but 'vicarii,' or 'visitatores episcoporum in villis,' so their ordination was but to a mere presbyterate. And this we find, as soon as ever we hear that they had had episcopal ordination. For those who, in the beginning of the tenth canon of Antioch, we find had been consecrated as bishops, in the end of the same canon we find it decreed 'de novo:' *χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἧ ὑπόκειται, ἐπισκόπου*·—

" The chorepiscopus, or country-bishop, must be ordained by the bishop of the city, in whose jurisdiction he is;" which was clearly ordination to the order of a presbyter, and no more. And ever after this, all the ordinations they made, were only to the inferior ministries, with the bishop's license too; but they never ordained any to be deacons or priests; for these were orders of the Holy Ghost's appointing, and, therefore, were 'gratia Spiritûs Sancti,' and issues of order; but the inferior ministries, as of a reader, an ostiary, &c. were human constitutions, and required not the capacity of episcopal order to collate them; for they were not 'graces of the Holy Ghost,' as all orders properly so called are, but might, by human dispensation, be bestowed, as well as by human ordinance they had their first constitution.

The chorepiscopi lasted in this consistence, till they were quite taken away by the Council of Hispalis: save only that such men also were called chorepiscopi, who had been bishops of cities, but had fallen from their honour, by communicating in Gentile sacrifices, and by being traditors; but in case they repented and were reconciled, they had not indeed restitution to their see; but because they had the indelible character of a bishop, they were allowed the name, and honour, and sometime the execution, of offices chorepiscopal. Now of this sort of chorepiscopi no objection can be pretended, if they had made ordinations; and of the other, nothing pertinent, for they also had the ordination and order of bishops. The former was the case of Meletius, in the Nicene Council, as is to be seen in the epistle of the fathers to the Church of Alexandria.[d] But however, all this while, the power of ordination is so fast held in the bishop's hand, that it was communicated to none, though of the greatest privilege.

I find the like care taken in the Council of Sardis:[e] for when Musæus and Eutychianus had ordained some clerks, themselves not being bishops,—Gaudentius (one of the moderate men, it is likely), for quietness' sake, and to comply with the times, would fain have had those clerks received into clerical communion; but the council would by no means admit that they should be received into the clergy, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους

[d] Tripart. Hist. lib. ii. c. 12. ex Theodoret. [e] Can. 19.

τοὺς ἱερωθέντας παρὰ τίνων τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὲν ὄντων ἐπισκόπων (as Balsamon expresses upon that canon): "but such as were ordained by them, who were bishops verily and indeed." But with those who were ordained by Musæus and Eutychianus, ὡς λαϊκοῖς συγκοινωνήσομεν,—"we will communicate as with laymen:" ὅτι οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἐπισκοπου δύνανται ἐχδικεῖν, οἱ αὐτοὺς τάχα χειροτονήσαντες·—"For they were no bishops, that imposed hands on them:" and, therefore, the clerks were not ordained truly, but were πλασάμενοι χειροτονίαν,—"dissemblers of ordination." "Quæ autem de Musæo et Eutychiano dicta sunt, trahe etiam ad alios, qui non ordinati fuerunt," &c. saith Balsamon; intimating, that it is a ruled case, and of public interest.

The same was the issue of those two famous cases, the one of Ischiras ordained of Colluthus, φανταστέντος ἐπισκοπὴν,—'one that dreamed only he was a bishop.' Ischiras, being ordained by him, could be no priest, nor any else of his ordaining: καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄχυρος· and Ischiras himself was reduced into lay-communion, being deposed by the synod of Alexandria, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ τῆς ψευδοῦς ὑπονοίας τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου,—"falling from the imagination of his presbyterate," say the priests and deacons of Mareotis:[f] and of the rest that were ordained with Ischiras, λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ οὕτω συνάγονται, saith St. Athanasius; and this so known a business, ὡς οὐδενὶ καθέστηκεν ἀμφίζολον,—"no man made scruple of the nullity." The parallel case is of the presbyters ordained by Maximus, who was another bishop in the air too; all his ordinations were pronounced null, by the fathers of the council in Constantinople.[g] A third is of the blind bishop of Agabra imposing hands, while his presbyters read the words of ordination; the ordination was pronounced invalid by the first Council of Sevil.[h] These cases are so known, I need not insist on them. This only,

In divers cases of transgression of the canons, clergymen were reduced to lay-communion, either being suspended or deposed; that is from their place of honour and execution of their function, with or without hope of restitution respectively; but then still they had their order, and the sacraments conferred by them were valid, though they indeed

[f] Apud Athanas. Apolog. 2. epist. Presb. et Diacon. Mareotic. ad Curiosum et Philagrium.

[g] Cap. iv. [h] Cap. v.

were prohibited to minister; but in the cases of the present instance, the ordinations were pronounced as null, to have bestowed nothing, and to be merely imaginary.

But so also it was in case that bishops ordained without a title, or in the diocese of another bishop; as in the Council of Chalcedon,[i] and of Antioch,[k] πάντα τὰ ἄκυρα. And may be it was so in case of ordination by a presbyter, it was, by positive constitution, pronounced void, and no more; and, therefore, may be rescinded by the countermand of an equal power; a council at most may do it; and, therefore, without a council, a probable necessity will let us loose. But to this the answer is evident.

1. The expressions in the several cases are several, and of divers issue; for in case of those nullities which are merely canonical, they are expressed as then first made; but in the case of ordination by a non-bishop, they are only declared void 'ipso facto.' And, therefore, in that decree of Chalcedon against sine-titular ordinations, the canon saith: τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν,—"irritam existimari manus impositionem," "to be esteemed as null," that is, not to have canonical approbation; but is not declared null, 'in natura rei,' as it is in the foregoing instances.

2. In the cases of Antioch and Chalcedon, the degree is 'pro futuro,' which makes it evident that those nullities are such as are made by canon: but in the cases of Colluthus and Maximus, there was declaration of a past nullity, and that before any canon was made; and though synodal declarations pronounced such ordinations invalid, yet none decreed so for the future; which is a clear evidence, that this nullity, viz. in case of ordination by a non-presbyter, is not made by canon, but by canon declared to be invalid in the nature of the thing.

3. If to this be added, that in antiquity it was dogmatically resolved, that by nature and institution of the order of bishops, ordination was appropriate to them, then it will also from hence be evident, that the nullity of ordination without a bishop, is not dependent upon positive constitution, but on the exigence of the institution. Now that the power of

[i] Can. 6. [k] Can. 13.

ordination was only in the bishop, even they who, to advance the presbyters, were willing enough to speak less for episcopacy, give testimony; making this the proper distinctive cognizance of a bishop from a presbyter, that the bishop hath power of ordination, the presbyter hath not. So St. Jerome: "Quid facit episcopus, excepta ordinatione, quod presbyter non faciat?—All things," saith he,[l] (to wit, all things of precise order,) "are common to bishops with priests, except ordination;" for that is proper to the bishop. And St. Chrysostom: "Sola quippe ordinatione superiores illis sunt episcopi, atque hoc tantum plusquam presbyteri habere videntur."[m] Ordination is the proper and peculiar function of a bishop; and, therefore, not given him by positive constitution of the canon.

4. No man was called a heretic for breach of canon, but for denying the power of ordination to be proper to a bishop: Aerius was, by Epiphanius, Philastrius, and St. Austin, condemned and branded for heresy, and by the catholic Church, saith Epiphanius. This power, therefore, came from a higher spring than positive and canonical sanction. But now proceed.

The council held in Trullo,[n] complaining of the incursion of the barbarous people upon the churches' inheritance, saith that it forced some bishops from their residence, and made that they could not κατὰ τὸ κρατῆσαν ἔθος τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ πάντα ἃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀνήκει πράττειν τε καὶ μεταχειρίζεσθαι·—"according to the guise of the Church, give orders and do such things as did belong to the bishop:" and in the sequel of the canon they are permitted in such cases, "ut et diversorum clericorum ordinationes canonicè faciant,—to make canonical ordinations of clergymen." Giving of orders is proper, it belongs to a bishop. So the council. And, therefore, Theodoret, expounding that place of St. Paul, "by laying on the hands of the presbytery," interprets it of bishops; for this reason, because presbyters did not impose hands. There is an imperfect canon in the Arausican Council,[o] that hath an expression very pertinent to this purpose: "Ea quæ non nisi per episcopos geruntur,—those things that are not

[l] Ad Evagrium.
[m] Homil. 2. in 1 Tim. ii.
[n] Can. 37.
[o] Can. 20.

done but by bishops," they were decreed still to be done by bishops, though he that was to do them regularly, did fall into any infirmity whatsoever, yet "non sub præsentia sua presbyteros agere permittat, sed evocet episcopum." Here are clearly, by this canon, some things supposed to be proper to the bishops, to the action of which presbyters must, in no case, be admitted. The particulars, what they are, are not specified in the canon, but are named before, viz. orders and confirmation; for almost the whole council was concerning them, and nothing else is properly the 'agendum episcopi,' and the canon else is not to be understood. To the same issue is that circumlocutory description or name of a bishop, used by St. Chrysostom, ὁ μέλλων ἡμᾶς χειροτονήσειν,—"the man that is to ordain clerks."

And all this is but the doctrine of the catholic Church, which St. Epiphanius[p] opposed to the doctrine of Aerius, denying episcopacy to be a distinct order. Ἡ μὲν γάρ (speaking of episcopacy) ἐστι πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις, πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾷν, speaking of presbytery:—"The order of bishops begets fathers to the Church of God, but the order of presbyters begets sons in baptism, but no fathers or doctors by ordination." It is a very remarkable passage related by Eusebius, in the ordination of Novatus to be presbyter, the bishop did it διακωλυόμενος ἀπὸ πάντος τοῦ κλήρου,—'all the whole clergy was against it,' yet the bishop did ordain him, and then certainly scarce any conjunction of the other clergy can be imagined; I am sure none is either expressed or intimated.[q] For it was a ruled case, and attested by the uniform practice of the Church, which was set down in the third Council of Carthage: "Episcopus unus esse potest, per quem dignatione Divina presbyteri multi constitui possunt."[r] This case I instance the more particularly, because it is an exact determination of a bishop's sole power of ordination. Aurelius made a motion, that if a church wanted a presbyter to become her bishop, they might demand one from any bishop. It was granted; but Posthumianus, the bishop, put this case: "Deinde qui unum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri?—How, if the bishop have but one priest, must

[p] Hæres. 75. [q] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 33. [r] Can. 45.

his bishop part with him to supply the necessity of the neighbour widow-church?" Yea, that he must. But how then shall he keep ordinations, when he hath never a presbyter to assist him? That indeed would have been the objection now, but it was none then. For Aurelius told them plainly, there was no inconvenience in it; for though a bishop have never a presbyter, no great matter, he can himself ordain many, and then I am sure there is a sole ordination; but if a bishop be wanting to a church, he is not so easily found.

Thus it went ordinarily in the style of the Church, ordinations were made by the bishop, and the ordainer spoken of as a single person. So it is in the Nicene Council,[s] the Council of Antioch,[t] the Council of Chalcedon,[u] and St. Jerome, who, writing to Pammachius against the errors of John of Jerusalem, "If thou speak," saith he, "of Paulinianus, he comes now and then to visit us, not as any of your clergy, but 'ejus à quo ordinatus est,' that bishop's who ordained him."

So that the issue of this argument is this. The canons of the apostles and the rules of the ancient councils appropriate the ordination of bishops to bishops, of presbyters to one bishop, (for I never find a presbyter ordained by two bishops together, but only Origen, by the bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea,) presbyters are never mentioned in conjunction with bishops at their ordinations, and if alone they did it, their ordination was pronounced invalid and void 'ab initio.'

To these particulars add this, that bishops alone were punished if ordinations were uncanonical; which were most unreasonable, if presbyters did join in them, and were causes in conjunction. But unless they did it alone, we never read that they were punishable; indeed bishops were 'pro toto, et integro,' as is reported by Sozomen in the case of Elpidius, Eustathius, Basilius of Ancyra, and Eleusius. Thus also it was decreed in the second and sixth chapters of the Council of Chalcedon, and in the imperial constitutions.[x] Since, therefore, we never find presbyters joined with bishops in

[s] Cap. xix. [t] Cap. ix. [u] Cap. ii. et vi.
[x] Novell. Constit. 6. et 123, c. 16.

commission, or practice, or penalty, all this while; I may infer, from the premises, the same thing which the Council of Hispalis expresses in direct and full sentence: "Episcopus sacerdotibus ac ministris solus honorem dare potest, solus auferre non potest:—The bishop alone may give the priestly honour, he alone is not suffered to take it away."[y] This council was held in the year 657, and I set it down here for this purpose, to shew that the decree of the fourth Council of Carthage,[z] which was the first that licensed priests to assist bishops in ordinations, yet was not obligatory in the West; but for almost three hundred years after, ordinations were made by bishops alone. But till this council, no pretence of any such conjunction, and after this council, sole ordination did not expire in the West for above two hundred years together; but for aught I know, ever since then it hath obtained, that although presbyters join not in the consecration of a bishop, yet of a presbyter they do; but this is only by a positive subintroduced constitution, first made in a provincial of Africa, and in other places received by insinuation and conformity of practice.

I know not what can be said against it. I only find a piece of an objection out of St. Cyprian, who was a man so complying with the subjects of his diocese, that, if any man, he was like to furnish us with an antinomy: "Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, à me, et à collegis qui præsentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis."[a] Here either by his 'colleagues' he means bishops or presbyters. If bishops, then many bishops will be found in the ordination of one to an inferior order; which, because it was, as I observed before, against the practice of Christendom, will not easily be admitted to be the sense of St. Cyprian: but if he means presbyters by 'collegæ,' then sole ordination is invalidated by this example, for presbyters joined with him in the ordination of Aurelius.

I answer, that it matters not whether by his colleagues he means one or the other; for Aurelius, the confessor, who was the man ordained, was ordained but to be a reader; and that was no order of Divine institution, no gift of the Holy Ghost, and, therefore, might be dispensed by one, or more, by bishops or presbyters, and no way enters into the con-

[y] Cap. vi. [z] Can. 2. et 3. [a] Epist. 33.

sideration of this question, concerning the power of collating those orders which are gifts of the Holy Ghost, and of Divine ordinance; and therefore, this, although I have seen it once pretended, yet hath no validity to impugn the constant practice of primitive antiquity.

But then are all ordinations invalid, which are done by mere presbyters, without a bishop? What think we of the reformed churches?

1. For my part, I know not what to think. The question hath been so often asked, with so much violence and prejudice, and we are so bound, by public interest, to approve all that they do, that we have disabled ourselves to justify our own. For we were glad, at first, of abettors against the errors of the Roman Church; we found these men zealous in it; we thanked God for it, as we had cause; and we were willing to make them recompense, by endeavouring to justify their ordinations; not thinking what would follow upon ourselves. But now it is come to that issue, that our own episcopacy is thought not necessary, because we did not condemn the ordinations of their presbytery.

2. Why is not the question rather, what we think of the Primitive Church, than what we think of the reformed churches? Did the primitive councils and fathers do well in condemning the ordinations made by mere presbyters? If they did well, what was a virtue in them, is no sin in us. If they did ill, from what principle shall we judge of the right of ordinations? since there is no example in Scripture of any ordination made but by apostles and bishops; and the presbytery that imposed hands on Timothy, is, by all antiquity, expounded either of the office or of a college of presbyters; and St. Paul expounds it to be an ordination made by his own hands, as appears by comparing the two epistles to St. Timothy together; and may be so meant by the principles of all sides; for if the names be confounded, then presbyter may signify a bishop; and that they of this presbytery were not bishops, they can never prove from Scripture, where all men grant that the names are confounded.

So that whence will men take their estimate for the rites of ordinations? From Scripture? That gives it always to apostles and bishops, as I have proved; and that a priest did ever impose hands for ordination, can never be shewn from

thence. From whence then? From antiquity? That was so far from licensing ordinations made by presbyters alone, that presbyters, in the Primitive Church, did never join with bishops in collating holy orders of presbyter and deacon, till the fourth Council of Carthage; much less do it alone, rightly, and with effect. So that as, in Scripture, there is nothing for presbyters' ordaining, so in antiquity there is much against it; and either in this particular we must have strange thoughts of Scripture and antiquity, or not so fair interpretation of the ordinations of reformed presbyteries. But for my part, I had rather speak a truth in sincerity, than err with a glorious correspondence.

But will not necessity excuse them who could not have orders from orthodox bishops? Shall we either sin against our consciences, by subscribing to heretical and false resolutions 'in materiâ fidei,' or else lose the being of a church for want of episcopal ordinations? Indeed if the case were just thus, it was very hard with good people of the transmarine churches; but I have here two things to consider.

1. I am very willing to believe, that they would not have done any thing, either of error or suspicion, but in cases of necessity. But then I consider that M. Du Plessis, a man of honour and great learning, does attest,[b] that at the first reformation, there were many archbishops and cardinals in Germany, England, France, and Italy, that joined in the reformation, whom they might, but did not, employ in their ordinations; and what necessity then can be pretended in this case, I would fain learn, that I might make their defence. But, which is of more and deeper consideration, for this might have been done by inconsideration and irresolution, as often happens in the beginning of great changes; but it is their constant and resolved practice, at least in France, that if any returns to them, they will reordain him by their presbytery, though he had before episcopal ordination, as both their friends and their enemies bear witness.[c]

2. I consider that necessity may excuse a personal delinquency; but I never heard that necessity did build a church. Indeed no man is forced, for his own particular, to commit a

[b] De Eccles. c. xi.

[c] Daneus, part. ii. Isagog. lib. ii. c. 22. Perron. Repl. fol. 92, impres. 1605.

sin; for if it be absolutely a case of necessity, the action ceaseth to be a sin; but indeed if God means to build a church in any place, he will do it by means proportionable to that end; that is, by putting them into a possibility of doing and acquiring those things, which himself hath required, of necessity, to the constitution of a church. So that, supposing that ordination by a bishop is necessary for the vocation of priests and deacons, as I have proved it is, and, therefore, for the founding or perpetuating of a church, either God hath given to all churches opportunity and possibility of such ordinations, and then, necessity of the contrary is but pretence and mockery; or if he hath not given such possibility, then there is no church there to be either built or continued, but the candlestick is presently removed.

There are divers stories in Ruffinus to this purpose.[d] When Ædesius and Frumentius were surprised by the barbarous Indians, they preached Christianity, and baptized many; but themselves, being but laymen, could make no ordinations, and so not fix a church. What then was to be done in the case? "Frumentius Alexandriam pergit: et rem omnem, ut gesta est, narrat episcopo, ac monet, ut provideat virum aliquem dignum, quem congregatis jam plurimis Christianis in barbarico solo episcopum mittat." 'Frumentius comes to Alexandria to get a bishop.' Athanasius, being then patriarch, ordained Frumentius their bishop; "et tradito ei sacerdotio, redire eum cum Domini gratiâ unde venerat jubet: ex quo," saith Ruffinus, "in Indiæ partibus, et populi Christianorum et ecclesiæ factæ sunt, et sacerdotium cœpit."[e]

The same happened in the case of the Iberians, converted by a captive woman: "Posteà verò quàm ecclesia magnificè constructa est, et populi fidem Dei majore ardore sitiebant, captivæ monitis ad imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur: res gesta exponitur: sacerdotes mittere oratur, qui cœptum erga se Dei munus implerent." The work of Christianity could not be completed, nor a church founded, without the ministry of bishops. Thus the case is evident, that the want of a bishop will not excuse us from

[d] Eccles. Hist. lib. x. c. 9. per Ruffinum.
[e] Ibid. c. 10. et apud Theodoret. lib. i.

our endeavours of acquiring one; and where God means to found a church, there he will supply them with those means and ministries which himself hath made of ordinary and absolute necessity. And, therefore, if it happens that those bishops, which are of ordinary ministration amongst us, prove heretical, still God's Church is catholic; and though with trouble, yet orthodox bishops may be acquired. For just so it happened when Mauvia, queen of the Saracens, was so earnest to have Moses, the hermit, made the bishop of her nation, and offered peace to the catholics upon that condition; Lucius, an Arian, troubled the affair by his interposing and offering to ordain Moses: the hermit discovered his vileness, "et ita majore decore deformatus compulsus est acquiescere."[f] Moses refused to be ordained by him that was an Arian. So did the reformed churches refuse ordinations by the bishops of the Roman communion. But what then might they have done? Even the same that Moses did in that necessity: "Compulsus est ab episcopis, quos in exilium truserat (Lucius), sacerdotium sumere." Those good people might have had order from the bishops of England, or the Lutheran churches, if at least they thought our churches catholic and Christian.

If an ordinary necessity will not excuse this, will not an extraordinary calling justify it? yea, most certainly, could we but see an ordinary proof for an extraordinary calling, viz. an evident prophecy, demonstration of miracles, certainty of reason, clarity of sense, or any thing that might make faith of an extraordinary mission.

But shall we then condemn those few of the reformed churches, whose ordinations always have been without bishops? No, indeed: that must not be: they stand or fall to their own Master. And though I cannot justify their ordinations, yet what degree their necessity is of, what their desire of episcopal ordinations may do for their personal excuse, and how far a good life and a catholic belief may lead a man in the way to heaven, although the forms of external communion be not observed, I cannot determine. For aught I know, their condition is the same with that of the Church of Pergamus: "I know thy works, and where

[f] Eccles. Hist. lib. xi. c. 6. per Ruffinum.

thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is; and thou holdest fast my faith, and hast not denied my name:" "Nihilominus habeo adversus te pauca;—some few things I have against thee;" and yet of them, the want of canonical ordinations is a defect, which, I trust, themselves desire to be remedied; but if it cannot be done, their sin indeed is the less, but their misery the greater. I am sure I have said sooth, but whether or no it will be thought so I cannot tell; and yet why it may not I cannot guess, unless they only be impeccable; which, I suppose, will not so easily be thought of them, who themselves think that all the Church possibly may fail. But this I would not have declared so freely, had not the necessity of our own churches required it, and the first pretence of the legality and validity of their ordinations been buoyed up to the height of an absolute necessity; for else why shall it be called tyranny in us, to call on them to conform to us, and to the practice of the Catholic Church, and yet in them be called a good and a holy zeal to exact our conformity to them; but I hope it will so happen to us, that it will be verified here, what was once said of the catholics, under the fury of Justina: "Sed tanta fuit perseverantia fidelium populorum, ut animas prius amittere quàm episcopum mallent;" if it were put to our choice, rather to die (to wit, the death of martyrs, not rebels) than lose the sacred order and offices of episcopacy, without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite or sacrament, legitimately can be performed, in order to eternity.

The sum is this. If the canons and sanctions apostolical; if the decrees of eight famous Councils in Christendom, of Ancyra, of Antioch, of Sardis, of Alexandria, two of Constantinople, the Arausican Council, and that of Hispalis; if the constant successive acts of the famous martyr-bishops of Rome making ordinations; if the testimony of the whole pontifical book; if the dogmatical resolution of so many fathers, St. Denis, St. Cornelius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Epiphanius, St. Austin, and divers others, all appropriating ordinations to the bishop's hand; if the constant voice of Christendom, declaring ordination made by presbyters to be null and void in the nature of the thing; and never any act of ordination by a non-bishop

approved by any council, decretal, or single suffrage of any famous man in Christendom; if that ordinations of bishops were always made, and they ever done by bishops, and no pretence of priests joining with them in their consecrations, and after all this it was declared heresy to communicate the power of giving orders to presbyters, either alone or in conjunction with bishops, as it was in the case of Aerius; if all this, that is, if whatsoever can be imagined, be sufficient to make faith in this particular,—then it is evident that the power and order of bishops is greater than the power and order of presbyters, to wit, in this great particular of ordination, and that by this loud voice and united vote of Christendom.

SECTION XXXIII.

And Confirmation.

But this was but the first part of the power, which catholic antiquity affixed to the order of episcopacy. The next is of confirmation of baptized people. And here the rule was this, which was thus expressed by Damascen: "Apostolorum et successorum eorum est, per manûs impositionem donum Spiritûs Sancti tradere;—It belongs to the apostles and their successors, to give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands."[a] But see this in particular instance.

The Council of Eliberis, giving permission to faithful people of the laity to baptize catechumens in the cases of necessity, and exigence of journey: "Ita tamen ut si supervixerit baptizatus, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manûs impositionem proficere possit;—Let him be carried to the bishop, to be improved by imposition of the bishop's hands." This was law.

It was also a custom, saith St. Cyprian, "Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesiâ baptizantur, per præpositos ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem, et manûs impositionem, Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico consummentur;"[b] and this custom was catholic too, and the law was of universal concernment.

[a] Epist. de Chorepisc. [b] Epist. ad Jubaian.

"Omnes fideles, per manuum impositionem episcoporum, Spiritum Sanctum post baptismum accipere debent, ut plenì Christiani accipere debent." So St. Urban, in his decretal epistle;[c] and, "Omnibus festinandum est sine morâ renasci, et demùm consignari ab episcopo, et septiformem Spiritûs Sancti gratiam recipere;" so saith the old author of the fourth epistle under the name of St. Clement:—"All faithful baptized people must go to the bishop to be consigned, and so, by imposition of the bishop's hands, to obtain the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost."

Meltiades, in his epistle to the bishops of Spain, affirms confirmation in this to have a special excellence besides baptism: "Quòd solùm à summis sacerdotibus confertur;—because bishops only can give confirmation;" and the same is said and proved by St. Eusebius, in his third epistle, enjoining great veneration to this holy mystery: "Quòd ab aliis perfici non potest nisi à summis sacerdotibus;—It cannot, it may not, be performed by any but by the bishops."

Thus St. Chrysostom, speaking of St. Philip converting the Samaritans,[d] *διὸ καὶ βαπτίζων, Πνεῦμα τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις οὐκ ἐδίδου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων ἦν τῶν δώδεκα ἦν.*—"Philip, baptizing the men of Samaria, gave not the Holy Ghost to them whom he had baptized. For he had not power. For this gift was only of the twelve apostles." And a little after, *τοῦτο ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον.*—"This was peculiar to the apostles." *Ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς κομψοτέρους, οὐκ ἄλλης τινάς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τοῦτο ποιοῦντας·*—"whence it comes to pass, that the principal and chief of the Church do it, and none else." And George Pachymeres,[e] the paraphrast of St. Dionysius, *Χρεία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔσται εἰς τὸ χρῖσαι τῷ μύρῳ τὸν βαπτισθέντα· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἀρχαῖα συνήθεια·*—"It is required that a bishop should consign faithful people baptized: for this was the ancient practice."

I shall not need to instance in too many particulars; for that the ministry of confirmation was, by catholic custom, appropriate to bishops in all ages of the Primitive Church, is to be seen by the concurrent testimony of councils and fathers, particularly of St. Clemens Alexandrinus, in

[c] Apud Sev. Binium, in 1 tom. Concil.
[d] Homil. 18. in Act.
[e] In c. 5. de Eccles. Hierarch.

Eusebius,[f] Tertullian,[g] St. Innocentius the First,[h] Damasus,[i] St. Leo,[k] in John the Third,[l] in St. Gregory,[m] Amphilochius, in the life of St. Basil, telling the story of Bishop Maximinus confirming Basilius and Eubulus, the Council of Orleans,[n] and of Melda,[o] and, lastly, of Sevill,[p] which affirms, "Non licere presbyteris, per impositionem manûs fidelibus baptizandis Paracletum Spiritum tradere:—It is not lawful for presbyters to give confirmation, for it is properly an act of episcopal power:"—"Chrismate Spiritus Sanctus super infunditur. Utraque verò ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus." These are enough for authority and dogmatical resolution, from antiquity. For truth is, the first that ever did communicate the power of confirming to presbyters, was Photius, the first author of that unhappy and long-lasting schism between the Latin and Greek Churches, and it was upon this occasion too. For when the Bulgarians were first converted, the Greeks sent presbyters to baptize and to confirm them. But the Latins sent again to have them reconfirmed; both because (as they pretended) the Greeks had no jurisdiction in Bulgaria, nor the presbyters a capacity of order to give confirmation.[q]

The matters of fact and acts episcopal, of confirmation, are innumerable; but most famous are those confirmations made by St. Rembert, bishop of Brema, and of St. Malchus, attested by St. Bernard, because they were ratified by miracle, saith the ancient story.[r] I end this with the saying of St. Jerome: "Exigis ubi scriptum sit? In Actibus Apostolorum. Sed etiamsi Scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hanc partem consensus instar præcepti obtineret:—If you ask where it is written," (viz. that bishops alone should confirm,) "it is written in the Acts of the Apostles" (meaning, by precedent, though not express precept); "but if there were no authority of Scripture for it, yet the consent of all the world upon this particular is instead of

[f] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 17. [g] De Baptism. [h] Epist. 1. c. 3. Ad Decent.
[i] Epist. 4. [k] Epist. 88. [l] Epist. ad Episc. German.
[m] Lib. iii. Ep. 9.
[n] Apud. Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 5. can. ut Jejuni.
[o] Ibid. can. ut Episcopi. [p] Concil. Hespal. can. 7.
[q] Vide Anast. 1. Biblioth. Præfat. in can. 8. Synodi.
[r] Vide Optatum, lib. ii. S. Bernard. in Vita S. Malachiæ. Surium. tom. i. in Febr. Dial. adv. Lucifer.

a command." It was fortunate that St. Jerome hath expressed himself so confidently in this affair, for by this we are armed against an objection from his own words; for in the same dialogue, speaking of some acts of episcopal privilege and peculiar ministration, particularly of confirmation, he says it was "ad honorem potius sacerdotii quam ad legis necessitatem:—for the honour of the priesthood rather than for the necessity of a law."

To this the answer is evident from his own words: 'That bishops should give the Holy Ghost in confirmation, is written in the Acts of the Apostles;' and now that this is reserved, rather 'for the honour of episcopacy, than a simple necessity in the nature of the thing,' makes no matter. For the question here that is only of concernment is, not to what end this power is reserved to the bishop, but by whom it was reserved? Now St. Jerome says it was done 'apud acta,—in the Scripture;' therefore, by God's Holy Spirit; and the end he also specifies, viz. 'for the honour of that sacred order,' "non propter legis necessitatem,—not that there is any necessity of law," that confirmation should be administered by the bishop. Not that a priest may do it, but that, as St. Jerome himself there argues, the Holy Ghost being already given in baptism, if it happens that bishops may not be had (for he puts the case concerning persons in bondage, and places remote and destitute of bishops), then, in that case, there is not the absolute necessity of a law, that confirmation should be had at all: a man does not perish if he have it not; for that this thing was reserved to a bishop's peculiar ministration, was indeed an honour to the function, but it was not for the necessity of a law tying people, in all cases, actually to acquire it. So that this 'non necessarium' is not to be referred to the bishop's ministration, as if it were not necessary for him to do it when it is to be done, nor that a priest may do it if a bishop may not be had; but this non-necessity is to be referred to confirmation itself; so that if a bishop cannot be had, confirmation, though with much loss, yet with no danger, may be omitted. This is the sum of St. Jerome's discourse, this reconciles him to himself, this makes him speak conformably to his first assertions, and, consequently, to his arguments; and to be sure, no exposition can make these words to intend, that this reservation of the

power of confirmation to bishops is not done by the Spirit of God, and then let the sense of the words be what they will, they can do no hurt to the cause; and as easily may we escape from those words of his to Rusticus, bishop of Narbona: "Sed quia scriptum est, presbyteri duplici honore honorentur; prædicare eos decet, utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare," &c. It is quoted by Gratian, dist. 95. can. 'Ecce Ego.' But the gloss upon the place expounds him thus, *i. e.* 'in fide,' 'the presbyters may preach, they may confirm their auditors, not by consignation of chrism, but by confirmation of faith;' and for this quotes a parallel place for the use of the word 'confirmare,' by authority of St. Gregory, who sent Zachary, his legate, into Germany, from the see of Rome, "Ut orthodoxos episcopos, presbyteros, vel quoscunque reperire potuisset in verbo exhortationis perfectos, ampliùs confirmaret."[s] Certainly St. Gregory did not intend that his legate, Zachary, should confirm bishops and priests in any other sense but this of St. Jerome in the present, to wit, in faith and doctrine, not in rite and mystery; and neither could St. Jerome himself intend, that presbyters should do it at all but in this sense of St. Gregory; for else he becomes an antistrephon, and his own opposite.

Yea, but there is a worse matter than this. St. Ambrose tells of the Egyptian priests, 'that they, in the absence of the bishop, do confirm.' "Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus."[t] But,

1. The passage is suspicious, for it interrupts a discourse of St. Ambrose concerning the primitive order of election to the bishoprick, and is no way pertinent to the discourse, but is encircled with a story of a far different consequence, which is not easily thought to have been done by any considering and intelligent author.

2. But suppose the clause be not surreptitious, but natural to the discourse, and born with it, yet it is matter of fact, not of right; for St. Ambrose neither approves nor disproves it, and so it must go for a singular act against the catholic practice and laws of Christendom.

3. If the whole clause be not surreptitious, yet the word 'consignant' is; for St. Austin, who hath the same

[s] Cans. 11. q. 3. can. Quod Prædecessor. [t] In Ephes. iv.

discourse of the same thing, viz. of the dignity of presbyters, tells this story of the act and honour of presbyters in Alexandria and all Egypt, almost in the other words of his master, St. Ambrose; but he tells it thus: "Nam et in Alexandriâ et per totam Ægyptum si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter."[u] So that it should not be 'consignat,' but 'consecrat;' for no story tells of any confirmations done in Egypt by presbyters, but of consecrating the eucharist in cases of episcopal absence or commission. I shall give account, in the question of jurisdiction, that that was indeed permitted in Egypt, and some other places, but confirmation never, that we can find elsewhere; and this is too improbable to bear weight against evidence and practice apostolical, and four councils, and sixteen ancient catholic fathers, testifying that it was a practice and a law of Christendom, that bishops only should confirm, and not priests; so that if there be no other scruple, this question is quickly at an end.

But St. Gregory is also pretended in objection; for he gave dispensation to the priests of Sardinia, "ut baptizatos unguant,—to aneal baptized people."[x] Now anointing the forehead of the baptized person was one of the solemnities of confirmation, so that this indulgence does arise to a power of confirming; for 'unctio' and 'chrismatio,' in the first Arausican council, and since that time 'sacramentum chrismatis,' hath been the usual word for confirmation. But this will not much trouble the business.

Because it is evident that he means it not of confirmation, but of the chrism in those times, by the rites of the Church, used in baptism. For, in his ninth epistle, he forbids priests to anoint baptized people; now here is precept against precept; therefore, it must be understood of several anointings, and so St. Gregory expounds himself in this ninth epistle: "Presbyteri baptizatos infantes signare bis in fronte chrismate non præsumant: — Presbyters may not anoint baptized people twice," once they might; now that this permission of anointing was that which was a ceremony of baptism, not an act of confirmation, we shall see by comparing it with other canons. In the collection of the Oriental canons, by Martinus Bracarensis, it is decreed thus:

[u] Quæst. 101. Vet. et N. Testam. Basileæ. [x] Lib. iii. Epist. 26.

"Presbyter, præsente episcopo, non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum:"[7]—A priest must not sign infants without leave of the bishop, if he be present:"—'Must not sign them;' that is, with chrism in their foreheads, and that in baptism; for the circumstant canons do expressly explicate and determine it; for they are concerning the rites of baptism, and this in the midst of them. And by the way, this may answer St. Ambrose's 'presbyteri consignant, absente episcopo,' in case it be so to be read; for here we see a consignation permitted to the presbyters in the Eastern Churches to be used in baptism, in the absence of the bishop, and this an act of indulgence and favour, and, therefore extraordinary, and of use to St. Ambrose's purpose of advancing the presbyters, but yet of no objection in case of confirmation. And indeed 'consignari' is used in antiquity for any signing with the cross, and anealing. Thus it is used in the first Arausican council for extreme unction,[8] which is there, in case of extreme necessity, permitted to presbyters: "Hæreticos in mortis discrimine positos, si catholici esse desiderent, si desit episcopus, à presbyteris cum chrismate et benedictione *consignari* placet." 'Consigned' is the word, and it was clearly in extreme unction; for that rite was not then ceased, and it was in anealing a dying body, and a part of reconciliation, and so limited by the sequent canon, and not to be fancied of any other consignation.—But I return. The first Council of Toledo prohibits any from making chrism but bishops only,[9] and takes order, "ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum, ante diem paschæ, diaconi destinentur, ut confectum chrisma ab episcopo destinatum ad diem paschæ possit occurrere:—that the chrism be fetched by the deacons from the bishop, to be used in all churches." But for what use? Why, it was 'destinatum ad diem paschæ,' says the canon, 'against the holy time of easter;' and then, at easter, was the solemnity of public baptisms, so that it was to be used in baptism. And this sense being premised, the canon permits to presbyters to sign with chrism, the same thing that St. Gregory did to the priests of Sardinia. "Statutum verò est, diaconum non chrismare, sed

[7] Can. 52. [8] Can. 2. [9] Can. 20.

presbyterum, absente episcopo; præsente vero, si ab ipso fuerit præceptum." Now although this be evident enough, yet it is something clearer in the first Arausican council:[b] "Nullus ministrorum, qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismate chrismari." The case is evident, that chrismation or consigning with ointment was used in baptism; and it is as evident that this chrismation was it which St. Gregory permitted to the presbyters, not the other, for he expressly forbade the other; and the exigence of the canons, and practice of the Church, expound it so; and it is the same which St. Innocent the First decreed in more express and distinctive terms: "Presbyteris chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum;" there is a clear permission of consigning with chrism in baptism; but he subjoins a prohibition to priests, for doing it in confirmation: "Non tamen frontem eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cùm tradunt Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum."

By the way; some, that they might the more clearly determine St. Gregory's dispensation to be only in baptismal chrism, read it, 'Ut *baptizandos* ungant,' not *baptizatos*;' so Gratian, so St. Thomas; but it is needless to be troubled with that; for Innocentius, in the decretal now quoted, useth the word 'baptizatos,' and yet clearly distinguishes this power from the giving the chrism in confirmation.

I know no other objection, and these, we see, hinder not, but that having such evidence of fact in Scripture, of confirmations done only by apostles, and this evidence urged by the fathers for the practice of the Church, and the power of confirmation, by many councils and fathers, appropriated to bishops, and denied to presbyters, and in this they are not only doctors, teaching their own opinion, but witnesses of a catholic practice, and do actually attest it as done by a catholic consent; and no one example, in all antiquity, ever produced of any priest, that did, no law that a priest might, impose hands for confirmation;—we may conclude it to be a power apostolical in the original, episcopal in the succession,

[b] Can. 1. [c] Epist. 1. ad Decent. c. 3.

and that, in this power, the order of a bishop is higher than that of a presbyter, and so declared by this instance of catholic practice.

SECTION XXXIV.

And Jurisdiction: Which they expressed in Attributes of Authority and great Power.

Thus far I hope we are right. But I call to mind, that in the nosotrophium of the old philosopher, that undertook to cure all calentures by bathing his patients in water; some were up to the chin, some to the middle, some to the knees. So it is amongst the enemies of the sacred order of episcopacy: some endure not the name, and they, indeed, deserve to be over head and ears: some will have them all one in office with presbyters, as at first they were in name; and they had need bathe up to the chin: but some stand shallower, and grant a little distinction, a precedence perhaps for order's sake, but no pre-eminence in the reglement, no superiority of jurisdiction: others by all means would be thought to be quite through in behalf of bishops' order and power, such as it is, but call for a reduction to the primitive state, and would have all bishops like the primitive; but because by this means they think to impair their power, they may well endure to be up to the ankles; their error indeed is less, and their pretence fairer, but the use they make of it, of very ill consequence. But curing the mistake will quickly cure this distemper. That then shall be the present issue, that in the Primitive Church bishops had more power, and greater exercise of absolute jurisdiction, than now men will endure to be granted, or than themselves are very forward to challenge.

1. Then the Primitive Church expressing the calling and offices of a bishop, did it in terms of presidency and authority. "Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit," saith St. Ignatius:[a] "the bishop carries the representment of God the Father," that is, in power and authority to be sure, (for

[a] Epist. ad Trall.

how else?) so as to be the supreme 'in suo ordine,' in offices ecclesiastical. And again, "Quid enim aliud est episcopus quàm is, qui omni principatu et potestate superior est?" Here his superiority and advantage is expressed to be in his 'power:' a bishop is greater and higher than all other in power, viz. 'in materiâ,' or 'gradu religionis.' And in his epistle to the Magnesians: "Hortor ut hoc sit omnibus studium in Dei concordiâ, omnia agere, episcopo præsidente loco Dei:—Do all things in unity, the bishop being president in the place of God." 'President' in all things. And with a fuller tide yet, in his epistle to the Church of Smyrna: "Honora episcopum, ut principem sacerdotum imaginem Dei referentem, Dei quidem propter principatum, Christi verò propter sacerdotium." It is full of fine expression, both for eminence of order and jurisdiction. The bishop is 'the prince of the priests, bearing the image of God for his principality,' that is his jurisdiction and power: but 'of Christ himself for his priesthood;' that is his order: St. Ignatius hath spoken fairly; and if we consider that he was so primitive a man that himself saw Christ in the flesh, and lived a man of exemplary sanctity, and died a martyr, and hath been honoured as a holy catholic by all posterity,—certainly these testimonies must needs be of great pressure, being 'sententiæ repetitæ dogmatis,' not casually slipped from him, and by incogitancy, but resolutely and frequently.

But this is attested by the general expressions of after-ages. "Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui," saith St. Cyprian to Bishop Rogatianus:[b] "Execute the power of thy dignity" upon the refractory deacon; and 'vigor episcopalis,' and 'auctoritas cathedræ' are the words expressive of that power, whatsoever it be, which St. Cyprian calls upon him to assert in the same epistle. This is high enough. So is that which he presently subjoins, calling the bishops' power "ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimem ac divinam potestatem—a high and a divine power and authority in regiment of the Church." "Locus magisterii traditus ab apostolis," so St. Irenæus calls episcopacy;[c]—"a place of mastership or authority delivered by the apostles to the bishops their successors." Eusebius speaking of Dionysius, who

[b] Lib. iii. Epist. 9. [c] Lib. iv. cap. 63.

succeeded Heraclas, he received (saith he) τῆς προστασίας τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν,[d]—"the bishoprick of the presidency over the churches of Alexandria:" εἰς τὴν ἀκρίδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, saith the Council of Sardis;—"to the top or height of episcopacy." "Apices et principes omnium," so Optatus calls bishops;—"the chief and head of all:" and St. Denis, of Alexandria,[e] "scribit ad Fabianum, urbis Romæ episcopum, et ad alios quam plurimos ecclesiarum principes de fide catholicâ suâ," saith Eusebius. And Origen calls the bishop, "eum qui totius ecclesiæ arcem obtinet;—he that hath obtained the tower or height of the church."[f]

The fathers of the Council of Constantinople, in Trullo, ordained that the bishops,—dispossessed of their churches by encroachments of barbarous people upon the churches' pale, so as the bishop had in effect no diocese,—yet they should enjoy τῇ τῆς προεδρίας αὐθεντίᾳ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον ὅρον,—"the authority of their presidency according to their proper state;" their appropriate presidency. And the same council calls the bishop τὸν τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρον,—"the prelate, or prefect, of the church;" I know not how to expound it better. But it is something more full in the Greeks' Council of Carthage,[g] commanding that the convert Donatists should be received according to the will and pleasure of the bishop, τοῦ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ κυβερνῶντος ἐκκλησίαν,—"that governs the church in that place." And, in the Council of Antioch, ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν,[h]—"the bishop hath power over the affairs of the church." "Hoc quidem tempore Romanæ ecclesiæ Sylvester retinacula gubernabat:—St. Sylvester (the bishop) held the reins, or the stern, of the Roman church," saith Theodoret.[i]

But the instances of this kind are infinite; two may be as good as twenty, and these they are. The first is of St. Ambrose:[k] "Honor et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari:—The honour and sublimity of episcopal order is beyond all comparison great." And their commission he specifies to be in 'pasce oves meas;' "unde regendæ sacerdotibus contraduntur, meritò rectoribus suis subdi dicuntur," &c.: "The sheep are delivered to bishops

[d] Lib. vi. Hist. c. 26. can. 10.
[e] Lib. ii. adv. Parmen.
[f] Lib. vi. Hist. c. 26. Homil. 7. in Jerem.
[g] Can. 69.
[h] Can. 25.
[i] Hist. Tripart. lib. i. cap. 12.
[k] De Dignit. Sacerdot. c. ii.

as to rulers, and are made their subjects:" and in the next chapter,[l] "Hæc verò cuncta, fratres, ideò nos præmisisse cognoscere debetis, ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc sæculo excellentius sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius episcopis reperiri: ut cùm dignitatem episcopatûs episcoporum oraculis demonstramus, et dignè noscamus quid sumus, actione potius quàm nomine demonstremus:—These things I have said, that you may know nothing is higher, nothing more excellent, than the dignity and eminence of a bishop," &c. The other is of St. Jerome: "Cura totius ecclesiæ ad episcopum pertinet:—The care of the whole church appertains to the bishop." But more confidently spoken is that in his dialogue 'adversus Luciferianos:' "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes:—The safety of the church consists in the dignity of a bishop, to whom, unless an eminent and unparalleled power be given by all, there will be as many schisms as priests."[m]

Here is dignity, and authority, and power enough expressed; and if words be expressive of things (and there is no other use of them), then the bishop is superior in a peerless and incomparable authority; and all the whole diocese are his subjects; viz. 'in regimine spirituali.'

SECTION XXXV.

Requiring Universal Obedience to be given to Bishops by Clergy and Laity.

But from words let us pass to things. For the faith and practice of Christendom require obedience, universal obedience, to be given to bishops. I will begin again with Ignatius, that these men who call for reduction of episcopacy to primitive consistence may see what they gain by it; for the more primitive the testimonies are, the greater exaction of obedience to bishops; for it happened in this, as in all other

[l] Cap. iii. [m] Cap. iv.

things: at first, Christians were more devout, more pursuing of their duties, more zealous in attestation of every particle of their faith; and that episcopacy is now come to so low an ebb, it is nothing; but that, it being a great part of Christianity to honour and obey them, it hath the fate of all other parts of our religion, and particularly of charity, come to so low a declension, as it can scarce stand alone; and faith, which shall scarce be found upon earth at the coming of the Son of Man.

But to our business.

St. Ignatius, in his epistle to the Church of Trallis, "Necesse itaque est," saith he, "quicquid facitis, ut sine episcopo nihil tentetis." So the Latin of Vedelius, which I the rather choose, because I am willing to give all the advantage I can. "It is necessary," saith the good martyr, "that whatsoever ye do, you should attempt nothing without your bishop." And to the Magnesians, "Decet itaque vos obedire episcopo, et in nullo illi refragari:—It is fitting that ye should obey your bishop, and in nothing to be refractory to him." Here is both a 'decet' and a 'necesse est,' already. 'It is very fitting, it is necessary.' But if it be possible, we have a fuller expression yet, in the same epistle: "Quemadmodum enim Dominus sine Patre nihil facit, 'Nec enim possum facere à meipso quicquam:' sic et vos sine episcopo, nec diaconus, nec laiconus, nec laicus; nec quicquam videatur vobis consentaneum quod sit præter illius judicium; quod enim tale est, et Deo inimicum." Here is obedience universal, both in respect of things and persons; and all this no less than absolutely necessary. "For as Christ obeyed his Father in all things, saying, 'Of myself I can do nothing;' so nor you without your bishop, whoever you be, whether priest, or deacon, or layman: let nothing please you which the bishop dislikes; for all such things are wicked, and in enmity with God." But it seems St. Ignatius was mightily in love with this precept, for he gives it to almost all the churches he writes to. We have already reckoned the Trallians and the Magnesians. But the same he gives to the priests of Tarsus, Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτασσέτωσαν ἐπισκόπῳ.—"Ye presbyters, be subject to your bishop." The same to the Philadelphians: "Sine episcopo nihil facite:—Do nothing without your bishop." But this is better explicated in his epistle to the

Church of Smyrna: "Sine episcopo nemo quicquam faciat eorum, quæ ad ecclesiam spectant:—No man may do any thing without the bishop," viz. "of those things which belong to the church." So that this saying expounds all the rest; for this universal obedience is to be understood according to the sense of the Church; viz. to be in all things of ecclesiastical cognizance, all church affairs. And, therefore, he gives a charge to St. Polycarp, their bishop, that he also look to it, that nothing be done without his leave. "Nihil sine tuo arbitrio agatur, nec item tu quicquam præter Dei facies voluntatem:—As thou must do nothing against God's will, so let nothing (in the Church) be done without thine." By the way, observe, he says not, that as the presbytery must do nothing without the bishop, so the bishop nothing without them;—but, so the bishop nothing without God. But so it is. "Nothing must be done without the bishop;" and, therefore, although he encourages them that can, to remain in virginity; yet this, if it be either done with pride, or without the bishop, it is spoiled. For, "Si gloriatus fuerit, periit, et si id ipsum statuatur sine episcopo, corruptum est." His last dictate in this epistle to St. Polycarp, is with an "Episcopo attendite, sicut et Deus vobis:—The way to have God to take care of us, is to observe our bishop." "Hinc et vos decet accedere sententiæ episcopi, qui secundum Deum vos pascit; quemadmodum et facitis, edocti à Spiritu:—You must, therefore, conform to the sentence of the bishop; as, indeed, ye do already, being taught so to do by God's Holy Spirit."[a]

There needs no more to be said in this cause, if the authority of so great a man will bear so great a burden. What the man was, I said before; what these epistles are, and of what authority, let it rest upon Vedelius,[b] a man who is nowise to be suspected as a party for episcopacy; or rather upon the credit of Eusebius,[c] St. Jerome,[d] and Ruffinus,[e] who reckon the first seven, out of which I have taken these excerpta, for natural and genuine. And now I will make this use of it: Those men that call for reduction of episcopacy to the primitive state, should do well to stand

[a] Ep. ad Ephes. [b] Apologia pro Ignatio. [c] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 30. [d] De Script. Eccles. [e] Apud Euseb. quem Latinè reddidit.

close to their principles, and count that the best episcopacy which is first; and then consider but what St. Ignatius hath told us for direction in this affair, and see what is gotten in the bargain. For my part, since they that call for such a reduction, hope to gain by it, and then would most certainly have abidden by it, I think it not reasonable to abate any thing of Ignatius's height, but expect such subordination and conformity to the bishop as he then knew to be a law of Christianity. But let this be remembered all along, in the specification of the parts of their jurisdiction. But, as yet, I am in the general demonstration of obedience.

The Council of Laodicea,[f] having specified some particular instances of subordination and dependence to the bishop, sums them up thus: ὡσαύτως δὶ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· — "So, likewise, the presbyters, let them do nothing without the precept and counsel of the bishop;"[g] so is the translation of Isidore, 'ad verbum.' This council is ancient enough, for it was before the first Nicene. So also was that of Arles, commanding the same thing exactly: — "Ut presbyteri, sine conscientiâ episcoporum, nihil faciant. Sed nec presbyteris civitatis sine episcopi præcepto amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine auctoritate literarum ejus in unaquaque parochiâ aliquid agere," says the thirteenth canon of the Ancyran Council, according to the Latin of Isidore.[i] The same thing is in the first Council of Toledo, the very same words for which I cited the first Council of Arles; viz. "That presbyters do nothing without the knowledge or permission of the bishop." "Esto subjectus pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suscipe." It is the counsel of St. Jerome: "Be subject to thy bishop, and receive him as the father of thy soul."[k]

I shall not need to derive hither any more particular instances of the duty and obedience owing from the laity to the bishop; for this account will certainly be admitted by all considering men. God hath intrusted the souls of the laity to the care of the ecclesiastical orders; they, therefore, are to submit to the government of the clergy in matters spiritual, with which they are intrusted. For, either there is

[f] Can. 56. [g] Idem videre est apud Damasum, Ep. de Chorepiscopis.
[h] Can. 19. [i] Can. 20. [k] Epist. ad Nepotian.

no government at all, or the laity must govern the Church; or else the clergy must. To say there is no government, is to leave the Church in worse condition than a tyranny. To say that the laity should govern the Church, when all ecclesiastical ministries are committed to the clergy, is to say, Scripture means not what it says; for, it is to say, that the clergy must be 'præpositi,' and προιστῶτες, and 'prælati:' and yet the prelation, and presidency, and rule, is in them who are not ever, by God's Spirit, called presidents or prelates, and that it is not in them who are so called. In the meantime, if the laity, in matters spiritual, are inferior to the clergy, and must, in things pertaining to the soul, be ruled by them with whom their souls are intrusted; then, also, much rather they must obey those of the clergy, to whom all the other clergy themselves are bound to be obedient. Now, since, by the frequent precept of so many councils and fathers, the deacons and presbyters must submit, in all things, to the bishop, much more must the laity; and, since the bishop must rule in chief, and the presbyters, at the most, can but rule in conjunction and assistance, but ever in subordination to the bishop, the laity must obey 'de integro.' For that is to keep them in that state in which God hath placed them.

But for the main, St. Clement, in his epistle to St. James, translated by Ruffinus, saith it was the doctrine of Peter, according to the institution of Christ, "That presbyters should be obedient to their bishop in all things;" and in his third epistle, "That presbyters, and deacons, and others of the clergy, must take heed that they do nothing without the license of the bishop." And to make this business up complete, all these authorities of great antiquity were not the prime constitutions in those several churches respectively, but mere derivations from tradition apostolical; for not only the thing, but the words so often mentioned, are in the fortieth canon of the Apostles. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν (the same is repeated in the twenty-fourth canon of the Council of Antioch), αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος·—"Presbyters and deacons must do nothing without leave of the bishop; for to him the Lord's people is committed, and he must give an

account for their souls." And if a presbyter shall contemn his own bishop, making conventions apart, and erecting another altar, he is to be deposed, ὡς φίλαρχος, saith the thirty-second canon, "as a lover of principality;" intimating, that he arrogates episcopal dignity, and so is ambitious of a principality. The issue then is this. The presbyters, and clergy, and laity, must obey; therefore, the bishop must govern and give them laws. It was particularly instanced in the case of St. Chrysostom, καὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν τούτοις κατεκόσμει τοῖς νόμοις, saith Theodoret:—"He adorned and instructed Pontus with these laws;" so he, reckoning up the extent of his jurisdiction.[1]

But now descend we to a specification of the power and jurisdiction of bishops.

SECTION XXXVI.

Appointing them to be Judges of the Clergy, and Spiritual Causes of the Laity.

THE bishops were ecclesiastical judges over the presbyters, the inferior clergy, and laity. What they were in Scripture who were constituted in presidency over causes spiritual, I have already twice explicated; and from hence it descended, by a close succession, that they who watched for souls, they had the rule over them, and because no regiment can be without coercion, therefore there was inherent in them a power of cognition of causes, and coercion of persons. The canons of the Apostles, appointing censures to be inflicted on delinquent persons, make the bishop's hand to do it. Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται ἀφωρισμένος, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ἑτέρου δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ ἀφορίσαντος αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν κατὰ συγχυρίαν τελευτήσει ὁ ἀφορίσας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος·—"If any presbyter or deacon be excommunicated by the bishop, he must not be received by any else, but by him that did so censure him, unless the bishop that censured him be dead."[2] The same is repeated in the Nicene Council; only it is permitted

[1] Lib. v. c. 28. [2] Can. 33.

that any one may appeal to a synod of bishops: "Si fortè aliquâ indignatione, aut contentione, aut quâlibet commotione episcopi sui, excommunicati sint," if he thinks himself wronged by prejudice or passion; and when the synod is met "hujusmodi examinent quæstiones."[b] But by the way, it must be 'synodus episcoporum;' so the canon: "Ut ita demum hi, qui, ob culpas suas, episcoporum suorum offensas meritò contraxerunt, dignè etiam à cæteris excommunicati habeantur, quousque in communi, vel ipsi episcopo suo visum fuerit humaniorem circà eos ferre sententiam:—The synod of bishops must ratify the excommunication of all those, who, for their delinquencies, have justly incurred the displeasure of their bishop, and this censure to stick upon them, till either the synod or their own bishop shall give a more gentle sentence." This canon, we see, relates to the canon of the Apostles, and affixes the judicature of priests and deacons to the bishops; commanding their censures to be held as firm and valid; only as the apostles' canon names presbyters and deacons particularly; so the Nicene canon speaks indefinitely, and so comprehends all of the diocese and jurisdiction.

The fourth Council of Carthage gives, in expressed terms, the cognizance of clergy-causes to the bishop, calling aid from a synod in case a clergyman prove refractory and disobedient. "Discordantes clericos episcopus vel ratione vel potestate ad concordiam trahat, inobedientes synodus per audientiam damnet:—If the bishop's reason will not end the controversies of clergymen, his power must;"[c] but if any man list to be contentious, intimating (as I suppose, out of the Nicene Council), with frivolous appeals and impertinent protraction, "the synod (of bishops) must condemn him," viz. for his disobeying his bishop's sentence. The Council of Antioch is yet more particular in its sanction for this affair, intimating a clear distinction of proceeding in the cause of a bishop, and the other of the priests and deacons. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθείς, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, &c.—"If a bishop shall be deposed by a synod" (viz. of bishops, according to the exigence of the Nicene canon[d]), "or a priest or deacon by his own bishop, if he meddles with any sacred offices, he shall be hopeless of

[b] Can. 5. [c] Can. 59. [d] Can. 4.

absolution." But here we see that the ordinary judge of a bishop is a synod of bishops; but of priests and deacons the bishop alone: and the sentence of the bishop is made firm 'omni modo' in the next canon: "Si quis presbyter vel diaconus, proprio contempto episcopo, privatim congregationem effecerit, et altare erexerit, et episcopo accersenti non obedierit, nec velit ei parere, nec morem gerere primò et secundò vocanti, hic damnetur omni modo. Quòd si ecclesiam conturbare, et solicitare persistat tanquam seditiosus, per potestates exteras opprimatur:—What presbyter soever refuses to obey his bishop, and will not appear at his first or second summons, let him be deposed, and if he shall persist to disturb the Church, let him be given over to the secular powers." Add to this the first canon of the same council, *Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν*, &c.—"If any one be excommunicate by his own bishop," &c., as it is in the foregoing canons of Nice and the Apostles. The result of these sanctions is this. The bishop is the judge; the bishop is to inflict censures; the presbyters and deacons are either to obey, or to be deposed: no greater evidence in the world of a superior jurisdiction, and this established by all the power they had; and this did extend, not only to the clergy, but to the laity; for that is the close of the canon, *Ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι*·—"This constitution is concerning the laity, and the presbyters and the deacons, and all that are within the rule, viz. that if their bishop have sequestered them from the holy communion, they must not be suffered to communicate elsewhere."

But the 'audientia episcopalis,—the bishops' audience-court,' is of larger power in the Council of Chalcedon: *Εἴ τις κληρικὸς πρὸς κληρικὸν πράγμα ἴσχοι, μὴ καταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω*·—"If any clergyman have any cause against a clergyman, let him by no means leave his own bishop, and run to secular courts:" *Ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γυμναζέτω παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἢ γοῦν γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παρ' οἷς ἂν τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη βούλεται, τὰ τῆς δίκης συγκροτείσθω*·—"But first let the cause be examined before their own bishop, or, by the bishop's leave, before such persons as the contesting parties shall desire." *Εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσει, κανονικοῖς ὑποκείσθω ἐπιτιμίοις*:—"Who-

soever does otherwise, let him suffer under the censures of the Church."[e] Here is not only a subordination of the clergy in matters criminal, but also the civil causes of the clergy must be submitted to the bishop, under pain of the canon. I end this with the attestation of the Council of Sardis, exactly of the same spirit, the same injunction, and almost the same words, with the former canons. Hosius, the president, said: "If any deacon, or priest, or of the inferior clergy, being excommunicated, shall go to another bishop," γινώσκοντα ἀποκεκινῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς κοινωνίας παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, —"knowing him to be excommunicated by his own bishop, that other bishop must by no means receive him into his communion."[f]

Thus far we have matter of public right and authority, declaring the bishop to be the ordinary judge of the causes and persons of clergymen, and have power of inflicting censures, both upon the clergy and the laity. And if there be any weight in the concurrent testimony of the Apostolical Canons, of the general Councils of Nice, and of Chalcedon, of the Councils of Antioch, of Sardis, of Carthage; then it is evident that the bishop is the ordinary judge in all matters of spiritual cognizance, and hath power of censures, and, therefore, a superiority of jurisdiction.

This thing only by the way: in all these canons there is no mention made of any presbyters assistant with the bishop in his courts. For though I doubt not but the presbyters were in some churches, and in some times συνέδρευται and σύμβουλοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων, as St. Ignatius calls them, "counsellors and assessors with the bishop;" yet the power and the right of inflicting censures is only expressed to be in the bishop, and no concurrent jurisdiction mentioned in the presbytery: but of this hereafter more particularly.

Now, we may see these canons attested by practice and dogmatical resolution. St. Cyprian is the man whom I would choose, in all the world, to depose in this cause; because he, if any man, hath given all dues to the college of presbyters; and yet if he reserves the superiority of jurisdiction to the bishop, and that absolutely, and independently of conjunction with the presbytery, we are all well enough,

[e] Can. 9. [f] Can. 13. et 14.

and without suspicion. "Diù patientiam meam tenui, fratres carissimi," saith he, writing to the presbyters and deacons of his church.[g] He was angry with them for admitting the 'lapsi' without his consent; and though he was as willing as any man to comply, both with the clergy and people of his diocese, yet he also must assert his own privileges and peculiar. "Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensâ Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc præpositum sibi episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vindicent." The matter was, that certain presbyters had reconciled them that fell in persecution, without the performance of penance, according to the severity of the canon; and this was done without the bishop's leave, by the presbyters, "forgetting their own place, and the Gospel, and their bishop set over them, a thing that was never heard of till that time," "totum sibi vindicabant," "they that might do nothing without the bishop's leave, yet did this whole affair of their own heads." Well! Upon this St. Cyprian himself, by his own authority alone, suspends them till his return, and so shews that his authority was independent, theirs was not, and then promises 'they shall have a fair hearing before him, in the presence of the confessors and all the people.' "Utar eâ admonitione quâ me uti Dominus jubet, ut interim prohibeantur offerre, acturi et apud nos, et apud confessores ipsos, et apud plebem universam, causam suam." Here it is plain that St. Cyprian suspended these presbyters by his own authority, in absence from his church, and reserved the further hearing of the cause, till it should please God to restore him to his see.

But this fault of the presbyters, St. Cyprian, in the two next epistles, does still more exaggerate; saying, they ought to have asked the bishop's leave, "Sicut in præteritum semper sub antecessoribus factum est," for so was the catholic custom ever, that nothing should be done without the bishop's leave; but now, by doing otherwise, they did prevaricate the Divine commandment, and dishonour the bishop.[h] Yea, but the confessors interceded for the 'lapsi,'

[g] Epist. 10. [h] Epist. 11.

and they seldom were discountenanced in their request. What should the presbyters do in this case? St. Cyprian tells them, writing to the confessors: "Petitiones itaque et desideria vestra episcopo servent;—Let them keep your petitions for the bishop to consider of."[i] But they did not; therefore he suspended them, because they did not "reservare episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et cathedræ;—preserve the honour of the bishop's chair, and the episcopal authority," in presuming to reconcile the penitents without the bishop's leave.

The same St. Cyprian, in his epistle to Rogatianus, resolves this affair; for when a contemptuous, bold deacon had abused his bishop, he complained to St. Cyprian, who was an archbishop, and indeed St. Cyprian tells him, he did honour him in the business that he would complain to him, "Cùm pro episcopatûs vigore, et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, quâ posses de illo statim vindicare:—When as he had power episcopal and sufficient authority himself to have punished the deacon for his petulance."[k] The whole epistle is very pertinent to this question, and is clear evidence for the great authority of episcopal jurisdiction, the sum whereof is, in this encouragement, given to Rogatianus by St. Cyprian: "Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas:—Exercise the power of your honour upon him, and either suspend him or depose him." And, therefore, he commends Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, for driving Felicissimus, the schismatic, from the church, "vigore pleno, quo episcopum agere oportet,—with full authority as becomes a bishop."[l]

Socrates, telling of the promotion and qualities of St. John Chrysostom, says, "That in reforming the lives of the clergy, he was too fastuous and severe." "Mox igitur in ipso initio quum clericis asper videretur ecclesiæ, erat plurimis exosus, et veluti furiosum universi declinabant:—He was so rigid in animadversions against the clergy, that he was hated by them;"[m] which clearly shews that the bishop had jurisdiction and authority over them; for tyranny is the excess of power, and authority is the subject matter of rigour

[i] Epist. 12.
[k] Epist. 65.
[l] Epist. 55.
[m] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 3.

and austerity. But this power was intimated in that bold speech of his deacon, Serapio: "Nunquam poteris, ô episcope, hos corrigere, nisi uno baculo percusseris universos;—Thou canst not amend the clergy, unless thou strikest them all with thy pastoral rod." St. John Chrysostom did not indeed do so; but "non multum post temporis plurimos clericorum pro diversis exemit causis,—he deprived and suspended most of the clergymen for divers causes;" and for this his severity he wanted no slanders against him; for the delinquent ministers set the people on work against him. But here we see that the power of censures was clearly and only in the bishop, for he was incited to have punished all his clergy, 'universos;' and he did actually suspend most of them, 'plurimos;' and I think it will not be believed the presbytery of his church should join with their bishop to suspend themselves. Add to this, that Theodoret also affirms that Chrysostom entreated the priests to live canonically, according to the sanctions of the Church: "Quas quicunque prævaricari præsumerent, eos ad templum prohibebat accedere;—All them that transgressed the canons, he forbade them entrance into the church."[n]

Thus St. Jerome to Riparius: "Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochiâ esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, et non virgâ apostolicâ, virgâque ferreâ confringere vas inutile, et tradere in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fiat;—I wonder," saith he, "that the holy bishop is not moved at the fury of Vigilantius, and does not break him with his apostolical rod, that, by this temporary punishment, his soul might be saved in the day of the Lord."[o] Hitherto the bishop's pastoral staff is of fair power and coercion.

The Council of Aquileia, convoked against the Arians, is full and mighty in asserting the bishop's power over the laity, and did actually exercise censures upon the clergy, where St. Ambrose was the man that gave sentence against Palladius, the Arian. Palladius would have declined the judgment of the bishops, for he saw he should certainly be condemned, and would fain have been judged by some honourable personages of the laity. But St. Ambrose said,

[n] Ibid. c. iv. [o] Advers. Vigilant. Epist. 53.

"Sacerdotes de laicis judicare debent, non laici de sacerdotibus;—Bishops must judge of the laity, not the laity of the bishops." That is for the 'jus;' and for the 'factum,' it was the shutting up of the council; St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, gave sentence, "Pronuncio illum indignum sacerdotio, et cavendum, et in loco ejus catholicus ordinetur." The same also was the case of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, in Galatia, whom, for heresy, the bishops at Constantinople deposed, Eusebius giving sentence, and chose Basilius in his room.[p]

But their grandfather was served no better. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, served him neither better nor worse. So Theodoret. "Alexander autem, apostolicorum dogmatum prædicator, prius quidem revocare eum admonitionibus et consiliis nitebatur. Cum vero eum superbire vidisset, et apertè impietatis facinora prædicare, ex ordine sacerdotali removit;—the bishop first admonished the heretic; but when to his false doctrine he added pertinacy, he deprived him of the execution of his priestly function."[q]

This crime, indeed, deserved it highly. It was for a less matter that Triferius, the bishop, excommunicated Exuperantius, a presbyter, viz. for a personal misdemeanour; and yet this censure was ratified by the Council of Taurinum, and his restitution was left 'arbitrio episcopi,—to the good will and pleasure of the bishop,' who had censured him. "Statuit quoque de Exuperantio presbytero sancta synodus, qui ad injuriam sancti episcopi sui Triferii gravia et multa congesserat, et frequentibus eum contumeliis provocaverat; propter quam causam ab eo fuerat Dominicâ communione privatus, ut in ejus sit arbitrio restitutio ipsius, in cujus potestate ejus fuit abjectio."[r] His restitution was, therefore, left in his power, because originally his censure was. The like was in the case of Palladius, a laic in the same council: "Qui à Triferio sacerdote fuerat mulctatus;—who was punished by Triferius the bishop;" "Hoc ei humanitate concilii reservato, ut ipse Triferius in potestate habeat, quando voluerit ei relaxare."

Here is the bishop censuring Palladius the laic, and

[p] Tripart. Hist. lib. iii, c. 9.
[q] Tripart. Hist. lib. i. c. 12.
[r] Can. 4. A.D. 397.

excommunicating Exuperantius the priest, and this having been done by his own sole authority, was ratified by the council, and the absolution reserved to the bishop too, which indeed was an act of favour; for they having complained to the council, by the council might have been absolved; but they were pleased to reserve to the bishop his own power.

These are particular instances, and made public by acts conciliary intervening.

But it was the general canon and law of holy Church.

Thus we have it expressed in the Council of Agatho: "Contumaces vero clerici, prout dignitatis ordo promiserit, ab episcopis corrigantur; — Refractory clerks must be punished by their bishops, according as the order of their dignity allows."[s] I end this particular with some canons, commanding clerks to submit to the judgment and censures of their bishop, under a canonical penalty; and so go on 'ad alia.'

In the second Council of Carthage: "Alypius episcopus dixit, nec illud prætermittendum est, ut si quis fortè presbyter, ab episcopo suo correptus, aut excommunicatus, rumore vel superbiâ inflatus putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare contra ecclesiasticam fidem disciplinamque crediderit, non exeat impunitus."[t] And the same is repeated in the Greek code of the African canon: "If any presbyter, being excommunicated, or otherwise punished, by his bishop, shall not desist, but contest with his bishop, let him by no means go unpunished."[u] The like is in the Council of Chalcedon;[x] the words are the same that I before cited out of the canons of the Council of Antioch, and of the apostles. But Carosus, the archimandrite, spake home in that action: Κάρωσος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἀρχιμανδρίτης εἶπε. Τὴν τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενομένων πατέρων πίστιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐβαπτίσθην, οἶδα. Ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ ἄλλην πίστιν οὐκ οἶδα. Ἐπίσκοποί εἰσι, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἀφορίσαι, καὶ καθαιρῆσαι. Καὶ εἴ τι θέλωσιν, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι. Πλείω ταύτης ἐγὼ ἄλλην οὐκ οἶδα·—"The faith of the three hundred and eighteen fathers of the Council of Nice, into which I was baptized, I know; other faith I know not. They are bishops; they have power to excommunicate and condemn, and they have power to do what they please:

[s] Cap. 2. [t] Can. 8. [u] Can. 10. [x] Act. iv. can. 83.

other faith than this I know none."[y] This is to purpose, and it was in one of the four great councils of Christendom, which all ages since have received with all veneration and devout estimate.

Another of them was that of Ephesus, convened against Nestorius, and this ratifies those acts of condemnation which the bishops had passed upon delinquent clerks. Ὅσοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἀτόποις πράξεσι κατεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων, &c.—"They who are, for their unworthy practices, condemned by the synod, or by their own bishops;"[z] although Nestorius did endeavour to restore them, yet their condemnation should still remain vigorous and confirmed. Upon which canon, Balsamon makes this observation, which indeed, of itself, is clear enough in the canon. Ἔμαθες ὅτι μητροπολῖται καὶ ἐπίσκοποι δύνανται κρίνειν τοὺς κληρικοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφορισμῷ ἢ καὶ καθαιρέσει ἐστὶν ὅτε καθυποβάλλειν·—"Hence you have learned that metropolitans and bishops can judge their clergy and suspend them, and sometimes depose them." Nay, they are bound to it: "Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet (ne per plures serpant dira contagia) separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam;—It is necessary that the bishop should separate the scabbed sheep from the sound, lest their infection scatter;" so St. Austin. And, therefore, the fourth Council of Carthage commands,[a] "Ut episcopus accusatores fratrum excommunicet;—That the bishop excommunicate the accuser of their brethren,"[b] (viz. such as bring clergy-causes and catholic doctrine to be punished in secular tribunals;) for excommunication is called, by the fathers, 'mucro episcopalis,—the bishop's sword,' to cut offenders off from the catholic communion. I add no more but that excellent saying of St. Austin, which doth freely attest both the preceptive and vindictive power of the bishop over his whole diocese: "Ergo præcipiant tantummodò nobis quid facere debeamus, qui nobis præsunt, et faciamus orent pro nobis, non autem nos corripiant, et arguant, si non fecerimus. Imò omnia fiant, quoniam doctores ecclesiarum apostoli omnia faciebant, et præcipiebant quæ fierent, et corripiebant

[y] Post Epist. Archimandritarum ad Concilium pro Dioscori Rehabilitatione.
[z] Concil. Ephes. c. 5.
[a] Cap. 15. de Corrept. et Gratiâ.
[b] Can. 55.

si non fierent,"[c] &c. And again: "Corripiantur itaque à præpositis suis subditi correptionibus de caritate venientibus, pro culparum diversitate diversis, vel minoribus, vel amplioribus, quia et ipsa, quæ damnatio nominatur, quam facit episcopale judicium, quâ pœnâ in ecclesiâ nulla major est, potest, si Deus voluerit, in correptionem saluberrimam cedere, atque proficere."[d] Here the bishops have a power acknowledged in them, to command their diocese, and to punish the disobedient, and of excommunication by way of proper ministry, "damnatio quam facit episcopale judicium,—a condemnation of the bishop's infliction."

Thus it is evident, by the constant practice of primitive Christendom, by the canons of the three general councils, and divers other provincial, which are made catholic by adoption, and in inserting them into the code of the catholic Church, that the bishop was judge of his clergy, and of the lay-people of his diocese; that he had power to inflict censures upon them, in case of delinquency; that his censures were firm and valid; and as yet, we find no presbyters joining either in commission or fact, in power or exercise; but excommunication and censures to be appropriated to bishops, and to be only despatched by them, either in full council, if it was a bishop's cause, or in his own consistory, if it was the cause of a priest, or the inferior clergy, or a laic, unless in cases of appeal, and then it was 'in pleno concilio episcoporum,—in a synod of bishops;' and all this was confirmed by secular authority, as appears in the imperial Constitutions.

For the making up this paragraph complete, I must insert two considerations.

First, concerning universality of causes within the bishop's cognizance. And, secondly, of persons.[e]

The ancient canons, asserting the bishop's power 'in cognitione causarum,' speak in most large and comprehensive terms. Καὶ εἴ τι θέλωσιν, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι·—"They have power to do what they list." Their power is as large as their will. So the Council of Chalcedon, before cited. It was no larger, though, than St. Paul's expression: "For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye

[c] Ubi supra, c. iii. [d] Cap. xv. ibid. [e] Novel. Constit. 123. c. 11.

be obedient in all things."[f] A large extent of power, when the apostles expected a universal obedience. Ἐν πᾶσι. And so the style of the Church runs in descension, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς· so Ignatius: "Ye must do nothing without your bishop;" καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν,—"to contradict him in nothing."[g] The expression is frequent in him, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν,—"to comprehend all things in his judgment or cognizance;" so the Council of Antioch.[h]

But these universal expressions must be understood 'secundùm materiam subjectam;' so St. Ignatius expresses himself. Ye must without your bishop do nothing; nothing τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,—"of things pertaining to the Church." So also the Council of Antioch, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας,—"the things of the Church," are τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ πιστευθέντου πάντα τὸν λαὸν,—"committed to the bishop to whom all the people is intrusted." They are ecclesiastical persons, it is an ecclesiastical power they are endowed with, it is for a spiritual end, viz. the regiment of the Church, and the good of souls; and, therefore, only those things which are in this order are of episcopal cognizance. And what are those things?

1. Then it is certain, that since Christ hath professed his kingdom is not of this world, that government which he hath constituted 'de novo,' does, no way in the world, make any entrenchment upon the royalty.

> Hostis Herodes impie,
> Christum venire quid times?
> Non eripit mortalia,
> Qui regna dat cœlestia.

So the Church used to sing. Whatsoever, therefore, the secular tribunal did take cognizance of before it was Christian, the same it takes notice of after it is christened. And these are, all actions civil, all public violations of justice, all breach of municipal laws. These the Church hath nothing to do with, unless, by the favour of princes and commonwealths, it be indulged to them 'in honorem Dei et S. Matris ecclesiæ;' but then when it is once indulged, that act which does annul such pious vows, is just contrary to that religion

[f] 2 Cor. ii. 9. [g] Ubi suprà. [h] Can. 9.

which first gave them; and then, unless there was sin in the donative, the ablation of it is 'contra honorem Dei et S. Matris ecclesiæ.' But this, it may be, is impertinent.

2. The 'bishop's all' comes in after this; and he is judge of all those causes which Christianity hath brought in upon a new stock, by its new distinctive principles. I say by its 'new principles;' for there where it extends justice, and pursues the laws of nature, there the secular tribunal is also extended, if it be Christian; the bishop gets nothing of that: but those things which Christianity, as it prescinds from the interest of the republic, hath introduced, all them, and all the causes emergent from them, the bishop is judge of. Such are causes of faith, ministration of sacraments and sacramentals, subordination of inferior clergy to their superior, censures, irregularities, orders hierarchical, rites and ceremonies, liturgies and public forms of prayer (as is famous in the ancient story of Ignatius teaching his church the first use of antiphonas and doxologies, and thence was derived to all churches of Christendom[1]), and all such things as are in immediate dependence of these, as dispensation of church-vessels, and ornaments, and goods, receiving and disposing the patrimony of the Church, and whatsoever is of the same consideration, according to the forty-first canon of the Apostles: "Præcipimus ut in potestate suâ episcopus ecclesiæ res habeat;—Let the bishop have the disposing the goods of the Church;" adding this reason: "Si enim animæ hominum pretiosæ illi sint creditæ, multò magis eum oportet curam pecuniarum gerere:—He that is intrusted with our precious souls, may, much more, be intrusted with the offertories of faithful people."

3. There are some things of a mixed nature, and something of the secular interest, and something of the ecclesiastical concur to their constitution, and these are of double cognizance; the secular power and the ecclesiastical do both, in their several capacities, take knowledge of them. Such are the delinquencies of clergymen, who are both clergy and subjects too; 'clerus Domini,' and 'regis subditi;' and for their delinquencies, which are 'in materiâ justitiæ,' the secular tribunal punishes, as being a violation of that right which the

[1] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 9.

state must defend, but because done by a person who is a member of the sacred hierarchy, and hath also an obligation of special duty to the bishop, therefore the bishop also may punish him; and when the commonwealth hath inflicted a penalty, the bishop also may impose a censure, for every sin of a clergyman is two. But of this nature also are the convening of synods, the power whereof is in the king and in the bishop severally, insomuch as both the Church and the commonwealth, in their several respects, have peculiar interest,—the commonwealth for preservation of peace and charity, in which religion hath the deepest interest; and the Church, for the maintenance of faith. And, therefore, both prince and bishop have indicted synods in several ages, upon the exigence of several occasions, and have several powers for the engagement of clerical obedience, and attendance upon such solemnities.

4. Because Christianity is after the commonwealth, and is a capacity superadded to it; therefore, those things which are of mixed cognizance, are chiefly in the king; the supremacy here is his, and so it is in all things of this nature, which are called ecclesiastical; because they are 'in materiâ ecclesiæ, ad finem religionis:' but they are of a different nature and use from things spiritual, because they are not issues of those things which Christianity hath introduced 'de integro,' and are separate from the interest of the commonwealth in its particular capacity, for such things only are properly spiritual.

5. The bishop's jurisdiction hath a compulsory derived from Christ only, viz. infliction of censures by excommunications, or other 'minores plagæ,' which are in order to it. But yet this internal compulsory, through the duty of good princes to God, and their favour to the Church, is assisted by the secular arm, either superadding a temporal penalty in case of contumacy, or some other way abetting the censures of the Church, and it ever was so since commonwealths were Christian. So that ever since then episcopal jurisdiction hath a double part; an external, and an internal; this is derived from Christ, that from the king; which because it is concurrent in all acts of jurisdiction, therefore it is that the king is supreme of the jurisdiction, viz. that part of it which is the external compulsory.

And for this cause we shall sometimes see the emperor, or his prefect, or any man of consular dignity, sit judge when the question is of faith; not that the prefect was to judge of that, or that the bishops were not; but in case of the pervicacy of a peevish heretic, who would not submit to the power of the Church, but flew to the secular power for assistance, hoping, by taking sanctuary there, to engage the favour of the prince. In this case the bishops also appealed thither, not for resolution, but assistance and sustentation of the Church's power. It was so in the case of Ætius the Arian, and Honoratus the prefect, Constantius being emperor.[k] For all that the prefect did, or the emperor, in this case, was by the prevalency of his intervening authority to reconcile the disagreeing parties, and to encourage the catholics; but the precise act of judicature, even in this case, was in the bishops; for they deposed Ætius for his heresy, for all his confident appeal; and Macedonius, Eleusius, Basilius, Ortasius, and Dracontius, for personal delinquencies. And all this is but to reconcile this act to the resolution and assertion of St. Ambrose, who refused to be tried in a cause of faith by lay judges, though delegates of the emperor. "Quando audisti, clementissime imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicâsse?—When was it ever known that laymen, in a cause of faith, did judge a bishop?"[l] To be sure, it was not in the case of Honoratus the prefect; for if they had appealed to him, or to his master Constantius, for judgment of the article, and not for encouragement and secular assistance, St. Ambrose, in his confident question of 'Quando audisti?' had quickly been answered, even with saying, 'Presently after the Council of Ariminum, in the case of Ætius and Honoratus.' Nay, it was one of the causes why St. Ambrose deposed Palladius in the Council of Aquileia, because he refused to answer, except it were before some honourable personages of the laity. And it is observable that the Arians were the first (and indeed they offered at it often) that did desire princes to judge matters of faith; for they, despairing of their cause in a conciliary trial, hoped to engage the emperor on their party, by making him umpire. But the catholic bishops made humble and fair remonstrance of the

[k] Tripart. Hist. lib. v. c. 35.

[l] St. Ambrose, Epist. lib. ii. epist. 13.

distinction of powers and jurisdictions; and as they might not entrench upon the royalty, so neither betray that right, which Christ concredited to them, to the encroachment of an exterior jurisdiction and power. It is a good story that Suidas tells of Leontius,[m] bishop of Tripolis, in Lydia, a man so famous and exemplary, that he was called *ὁ κάνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας*,—"the rule of the Church,"—that when Constantius the emperor did preside amongst the bishops, and undertook to determine causes of mere spiritual cognizance, instead of a 'placet,' he gave this answer, *Θαυμάζω (ἔφη) ὅπως ἕτερα διέπειν ταχθείς, ἑτέροις ἐπιχειρεῖς· στρατιωτικῶν μὲν, καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων προεστηκὼς, ἐπισκόποις δὲ περὶ τῶν εἰς μόνους ἐπισκόπους ἡκόντων διατεττόμενος. Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα καταιδεσθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἤδη διακελεύσεως*·—"I wonder that thou, being set over things of a different nature, meddlest with those things that only appertain to bishops: the militia and the politia are thine, but matters of faith and spirit are of episcopal cognizance." *Τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Λεόντιος ἐλευθέριος*·—Such was the freedom of the ingenuous Leontius." Answerable to which was that Christian and fair acknowledgment of Valentinian, when the Arian bishops of Bithynia and the Hellespont sent Hypatianus, their legate, to desire him, "Ut dignaretur ad emendationem dogmatis interesse;—That he would be pleased to mend the article." "Respondens Valentinianus, ait, 'Mihi quidem, quum unus de populo sim, fas non est talia perscrutari: verùm sacerdotes apud seipsos congregentur ubi voluerint.' Cùmque hæc respondisset princeps, in Lampsacum convenerunt episcopi." So Sozomen reports the story.[n] 'The emperor would not meddle with matters of faith, but referred the deliberation and decision of them to the bishops, to whom by God's law they did appertain; upon which intimation given, the bishops convened in Lampsacum.' And thus a double power met in the bishops. A divine right to decide the article. "Mihi fas non est," saith the emperor: "It is not lawful for me to meddle." And then a right from the emperor to assemble, for he gave them leave to call a council. These are two distinct powers, one from Christ, the other from the prince.

And now, upon this occasion, I have fair opportunity to

[m] In verbo *Λεόντιος*. [n] Tripart. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 12.

insert a consideration. The bishops have power over all causes emergent in their dioceses; all, I mean, in the sense above explicated; they have power to inflict censures; excommunication is the highest, the rest are parts of it, and in order to it. Whether or no must church-censures be used in all such causes as they take cognizance of, or may not the secular power find out some external compulsory instead of it, and forbid the Church to use excommunication in certain cases?

1. To this I answer, that if they be such cases in which by the law of Christ they may, or such in which they must use excommunication, then in these cases no power can forbid them. For what power Christ hath given them, no man can take away.

2. As no human power can disrobe the Church of the power of excommunication, so no human power can invest the Church with a lay-compulsory. For if the Church be not capable of a 'jus gladii,' as most certainly she is not, the Church cannot receive power to put men to death, or to inflict lesser pains in order to it, or any thing above a salutary penance, I mean in the formality of a church-tribunal, then they give the Church what they must not, cannot take. I deny not but clergymen are as capable of the power of life and death as any men; but not in the formality of clergymen. A court of life and death cannot be an ecclesiastical tribunal; and then if any man, or company of men, should persuade the Church not to inflict her censures upon delinquents, in some cases in which she might lawfully inflict them, and pretend to give her another compulsory, they take away the church-consistory, and erect a very secular court, dependent on themselves, and by consequence to be appealed to from themselves, and so also to be prohibited as the lay-superior shall see cause for. Whoever, therefore, should be consenting to any such permutation of power, is, "Traditor potestatis quam S. Mater ecclesia a Sponso suo acceperat;—He betrays the individual and inseparable right of holy Church." For her censure she may inflict upon her delinquent children without asking leave. Christ is her *αὐθεντία* for that, he is her 'warrant and security.' The other is begged or borrowed, none of her own, nor of a fit edge to be used in her abscissions and coercions. I end this consideration with

that memorable canon of the Apostles, of so frequent use in this question. Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν φροντίδα·—"Let the bishop have the care or provision for all affairs of the Church," and let him dispense them 'velut Deo contemplante,—as in the sight of God,' to whom he must be responsive for all his diocese.[o]

The next consideration concerning the bishop's jurisdiction, is of what persons he is judge? and because our scene lies here in church-practice, I shall only set down the doctrine of the Primitive Church in this affair, and leave it under that representation.

Presbyters, and deacons, and inferior clerks, and the laity, are already involved in the precedent canons: no man there was exempted, of whose soul any bishop had charge; and all Christ's sheep hear his voice, and the call of his shepherd-ministers. Theodoret tells a story, that when the bishops of the province were assembled by the command of Valentinian, the emperor, for the choice of a successor to Auxentius, in the see of Milan, the emperor wished them to be careful in the choice of a bishop, in these words: Τοιοῦτον δὲ οὖν καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀρχιερατικοῖς ἐγκαθιδρύσατε θώκοις, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντες εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνωμεν κεφαλάς·—"Set such an one in the archiepiscopal throne, that we, who rule the kingdom, may sincerely submit our head unto him,"[p] viz. in matters of spiritual import. And since all power is derived from Christ, who is a King, and a Priest, and a Prophet, Christian kings are 'Christi domini,' and vicars in his regal power, but bishops in his sacerdotal and prophetical. So that the king hath a supreme regal power in causes of the Church, ever since his kingdom became Christian, and it consists in all things, in which the priestly office is not precisely, by God's law, employed for regiment, and cure of souls, and in these, also, all the external compulsory and jurisdiction is his own. For when his subjects became Christian subjects, himself also, upon the same terms, becomes a Christian ruler, and in both capacities he is to rule, viz. both as subjects and as Christian subjects, except only in the precise issues of sacerdotal authority. And, therefore, the kingdom and the priesthood are

[o] Can. 39. [p] Theodoret. lib. iv. c. 5.

excelled by each other in their several capacities. For superiority is usually expressed in three words, ὑπεροχὴ, ἀρχὴ, and ἐξουσία,—'excellence, impery, and power.' The king is supreme to the bishop in impery; the bishop hath an excellence, viz. of spiritual ministration, which Christ hath not concredited to the king; but in power, both king and bishop have it distinctly in several capacities; the king 'in potentiâ gladii,' the bishop 'in potestate clavium.' The sword and the keys are the emblems of their distinct power. Something like this is in the third epistle of St. Clement, translated by Ruffinus: "Quid enim in præsenti sæculo prophetâ gloriosius, pontifice clarius, rege sublimius?" 'king, and priest, and prophet, are, in their several excellences, the highest powers under Heaven.' In this sense, it is easy to understand those expressions often used in antiquity, which might seem to make entrenchment upon the sacredness of royal prerogatives; were not both the piety and sense of the Church sufficiently clear in the issues of her humblest obedience. And this is the sense of St. Ignatius, that holy martyr and disciple of the apostles: "Diaconi, et reliquus clerus, unà cum populo universo, militibus, principibus, et Cæsare, ipsi episcopo pareant;—Let the deacons and all the clergy, and all the people, the soldiers, the princes, and Cæsar himself, obey the bishop."[q] This is it which St. Ambrose said: "Sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari. Si regum fulgori compares, et principum diademati, erit inferius,"[r] &c. This also was acknowledged by the great Constantine, that most blessed prince: "Deus vos constituit sacerdotes, et potestatem vobis dedit, de nobis quoque judicandi, et ideo nos à vobis rectè judicamur. Vos autem non potestis ab hominibus judicari," viz. 'sæcularibus,' and 'in causis simplicis religionis.' So that good emperor, in his oration to the Nicene fathers.

It was a famous contestation that St. Ambrose had with Auxentius, the Arian, pretending the emperor's command to him, to deliver up some certain churches in his diocese to the Arians. His answer was, that palaces belonged to the emperor, but churches to the bishop;[s] and so they did by all

[q] Epist. ad Philadelph.
[r] Lib. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 2.
[s] Lib. x. Eccles. Hist. c. 2.

the laws of Christendom. The like was in the case of St. Athanasius and Constantius, the emperor, exactly the same 'per omnia,' as it is related by Ruffinus.[t] St. Ambrose, sending his deacon to the emperor, to desire him to go forth of the cancelli, in his church at Milan, shews, that then the powers were so distinct, that they made no entrenchment upon each other. It was no greater power, but a more considerable act, and higher exercise, the forbidding the communion to Theodosius, till he had, by repentance, washed out the blood that stuck upon him ever since the massacre at Thessalonica.[u] It was a wonderful concurrence of piety in the emperor, and resolution and authority in the bishop. But he was not the first that did it; for Philip, the emperor, was also guided by the pastoral rod, and the severity of the bishop. "De hoc traditum est nobis, quòd Christianus fuerit, et in die paschæ, *i. e.* in ipsis vigiliis, cùm interesse voluerit, et communicare mysteriis, ab episcopo loci non priùs esse permissum, nisi confiteretur peccata, et inter pœnitentes staret, nec ullo modo sibi copiam mysteriorum futuram nisi, priùs per pœnitentiam culpas, quæ de eo ferebantur plurimæ, deluisset; —The bishop of the place would not let him communicate, till he had washed away his sins by repentance." And the emperor did so. "Ferunt igitur libenter eum quod a sacerdote imperatum fuerat, suscepisse; —He did it willingly, undertaking the impositions laid upon him by the bishop."[x]

I doubt not but all the world believes the dispensation of the sacraments entirely to belong to ecclesiastical ministry.

It was St. Chrysostom's command to his presbyters, to reject all wicked persons from the holy communion. "If he be a captain, a consul, or a crowned king, that cometh unworthily, forbid him, and keep him off; thy power is greater than his. If thou darest not remove him, tell it me, I will not suffer it,"[y] &c. And had there never been more error in the managing church-censures than in the foregoing instances, the Church might have exercised censures, and all the parts of power that Christ gave her, without either scandal or danger to herself or her penitents. But when in

[t] Lib. x. Eccles. Hist. c. 19.
[u] Theodor. lib. v. c. 18.
[x] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 25.
[y] Homil. 83. in Matt. xxvi.

the very censure of excommunication, there is a new ingredient put, a great proportion of secular inconveniences and human interest, when excommunications, as in the apostles' times they were deliverings over to Satan, so now shall be deliverings over to a foreign enemy or the people's rage; as then to be buffeted, so now to be deposed, or disinterested in the allegiance of subjects; in these cases, excommunication being nothing like that which Christ authorized, and no way co-operating toward the end of its institution, but to an end of private designs and rebellious interest, bishops have no power of such censures, nor is it lawful to inflict them, things remaining in that consistence and capacity. And thus is that famous saying to be understood, reported, by St. Thomas, to be St. Austin's, but is indeed found in the ordinary gloss upon Matt. xiii. "Princeps et multitudo non est excommunicanda; — A prince or a commonwealth are not to be excommunicate."[z]

Thus I have given a short account of the persons and causes, of which bishops, according to catholic practice, did and might take cognizance. This use only I make of it. Although Christ hath given great authority to his Church, in order to the regiment of souls, such a power, "quæ nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari," yet it hath its limits, and a proper cognizance, viz. things spiritual, and the emergencies, and consequents from those things which Christianity hath introduced 'de novo,' and superadded, as things totally disparate from the precise interest of the commonwealth; and this I the rather noted, to shew how those men would mend themselves that cry down the tyranny, as they list to call it, of episcopacy, and yet call for the presbytery. "For the presbytery does challenge cognizance of all causes whatsoever, which are either sins directly or by reduction: all crimes which, by the law of God, deserve death."[a] There they bring in murders, treasons, witchcrafts, felonies. Then the minor faults they bring in under the title of 'scandalous and offensive.' Nay, 'quodvis peccatum,' saith Snecanus,

[z] In 3. Partis Supplem. q. 22. a. 5. Vide Aug. Ep. 75. et Gratian. Dist. 24. q. 2. c. Si habet, sed ibi 'princeps' non inseritur, sed tantùm in glossâ ordinariâ.

[a] Vide the book of Order of Excommun. in Scotland, and the Hist. of Scotland. Admonit. 2. p. 46. Knox's Exhortation to England.

to which, if we add this consideration, that they believe 'every action of any man to have in it the malignity of a damnable sin,' there is nothing in the world, good or bad, vicious or suspicious, scandalous or criminal, true or imaginary, real actions or personal; in all which, and in all contestations and complaints, one party is delinquent, either by false accusation or real injury; but they comprehend in their vast gripe, and then they have power to nullify all courts and judicatories besides their own; and being for this their cognizance they pretend Divine institution, there shall be no causes imperfect in their consistory, no appeal from them, but they shall hear and determine with final resolution, and it will be sin, and therefore punishable, to complain of injustice and illegality. If this be confronted but with the pretences of episcopacy, and the modesty of their several demands, and the reasonableness and divinity of each vindication examined, I suppose, were there nothing but prudential motives to be put into the balance, to weigh down this question, the cause would soon be determined; and the little finger of presbytery, not only in its exemplary and tried practices, but in its dogmatical pretensions, is heavier than the loins, nay, than the whole body of episcopacy; but it seldom happens otherwise, but that they who usurp a power prove tyrants in the execution, whereas the issues of a lawful power are fair and moderate.

SECTION XXXVII.

Forbidding Presbyters to officiate without Episcopal License.

But I must proceed to the more particular instances of episcopal jurisdiction. The whole power of ministration, both of the word and sacraments, was in the bishop by prime authority, and in the presbyters by commission and delegation, insomuch that they might not exercise any ordinary ministration without license from the bishop. They had power and capacity by their order to preach, to minister, to offer, to reconcile, and to baptize. They were, indeed, acts of order, but that they might not, by the law of the Church,

exercise any of these acts without license from the bishop, that is an act or issue of jurisdiction, and shews the superiority of the bishop over his presbyters, by the practice of Christendom.

St. Ignatius hath done very good offices in all the parts of this question, and here also he brings in succour. Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν·—"It is not lawful without the bishop," viz. without his leave, "either to baptize, or to offer sacrifice, or to make oblation, or to keep feasts of charity:"[a] and a little before, speaking of the blessed eucharist, and its ministration, and having premised a general interdict for doing any thing without the bishop's consent, Ἐκείνη δὲ βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ·—"But let that eucharist," saith he, "be held valid, which is celebrated under the bishop, or under him to whom the bishop shall permit."

I do not here dispute the matter of right, and whether or no the presbyters might 'de jure' do any offices without episcopal license, but whether or no, 'de facto,' it was permitted them in the Primitive Church? This is sufficient to shew to what issue the reduction of episcopacy to a primitive consistence will drive; and if I mistake not, it is at least a very probable determination of the question of right too. For who will imagine that bishops should at the first, in the calenture of their infant devotion, in the new spring of Christianity, in the times of persecution, in all the public disadvantages of state and fortune, when they anchored only upon the shore of a holy conscience, that then they should have thoughts ambitious, encroaching, of usurpation and advantages, of purpose to divest their brethren of an authority entrusted them by Christ; and then, too, when all the advantage of their honour did only set them upon a hill, to feel a stronger blast of persecution, and was not, as since it hath been, attested with secular assistance and fair arguments of honour, but was only in a mere spiritual estimate, and ten thousand real disadvantages? This will not be supposed either of wise or holy men. But however, 'valeat quantum valere potest.' The question is now of matter of fact; and if

[a] Epist. ad Smyrn.

the church of martyrs, and the church of saints, and doctors, and confessors, now regnant in heaven, be fair precedents for practices of Christianity, we build upon a rock, though we had digged no deeper than this foundation of catholic practice.

Upon the hopes of these advantages, I proceed. Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου χωρὶς συναγωγὴν καὶ θυσιαστήριον πήξῃ, καθαιρείσθω·—"If any presbyter, disrespecting his own bishop, shall make conventions apart, or erect an altar" (viz. without the bishop's license), "let him be deposed;"[b] clearly intimating that "potestas faciendi concionem," "the power of making of church-meetings and assemblies," for preaching or other offices, is derived from the bishop; and therefore the canon adds, καθαιρείσθω ὡς φίλαρχος· τύραννος γάρ ἐστι·—"He is a lover of rule, he is a tyrant;" that is, an usurper of that power and government which belongs to the bishop. The same thing is also decreed in the Council of Antioch, and in the Council of Chalcedon: Πάντες οἱ συλλαβέσταται ἐπίσκοποι εἶπαν, οὗτος δίκαιος κάνων, οὗτος ὁ κάνων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων·—"All the most reverend bishops cried out—This is a righteous law, this is the canon of the holy fathers."[c] 'This,' viz. the canon apostolical, now cited. Tertullian is something more particular, and instances in baptism: "Dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter honorem ecclesiæ, quo salvo salva pax est; alioquin etiam laicis jus est."[d] The place is of great consideration, and carries in it its own objection and its answer. "The bishop hath the right of giving baptism. Then after him, presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop" (so far the testimony is clear); "and this is for the honour of the Church." But does not this intimate it was only by positive constitution, and neither by Divine nor apostolical ordinance? No, indeed, it does not. For it might be so ordained by Christ or his apostles, 'propter honorem ecclesiæ;' and no harm done. For it is honourable for the Church, that her ministrations should be most ordinate; and so they are when they descend from the superior to the subordinate. But the

[b] Can. Apost. 32. [c] Can. 5. Acts, iv. [d] De Baptism.

next words do of themselves make answer, "otherwise laymen have right to baptize;" that is, 'without the consent of the bishop, laymen can do it as much as presbyters and deacons.' For, indeed, baptism conferred by laymen is valid, and not to be repeated; but yet they ought not to administer it; so neither ought presbyters without the bishop's license; so says Tertullian; let him answer it. Only the difference is this, laymen cannot 'jure ordinario' receive a leave or commission, to make it lawful in them to baptize any; presbyters and deacons may; for their order is a capacity of possibility. But besides the sacrament of baptism, Tertullian affirms the same of the venerable eucharist: "Eucharistiæ sacramentum non de aliorum manu quàm præsidentium sumimus."[e] The former place will expound this, if there be any scruple in 'præsidentium;' for clearly the Christians receive the sacrament of the eucharist from none but bishops; I suppose he means 'without episcopal license.' Whatsoever his meaning is, these are his words.

The Council of Gangra, forbidding conventicles, expresses it with this intimation of episcopal authority: "If any man shall make assemblies privately, and out of the church, so despising the church, or shall do any church offices," μὴ συνιόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω· "without the presence of a priest, by the decree of a bishop, let him be anathema."[f] The priest is not to be assistant at any meeting for private offices, without the bishop's license. If they will celebrate synaxes privately, it must be by a priest; and he must be there by leave of the bishop; and then the assembly is lawful. And this thing was so known, that the fathers of the second Council of Carthage call it ignorance or hypocrisy in priests, to do their offices without a license from the bishop. "Numidius episcopus Massilytanus dixit, In quibusdam locis sunt presbyteri qui, aut ignorantes simpliciter, aut dissimulantes audacter, præsente et inconsulto episcopo, complurimis in domiciliis agant agenda, quod disciplinæ incongruum cognoscit esse sanctitas vestra; — In some places there are priests that in private

[e] De Coronâ Milit. c. iii. Vide S. Chrysost. Hom. 11, in 1 Tim.; et S. Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucif.

[f] Can. 6.

houses do offices" (houseling of people is the office meant, communicating them at home), "without the consent or leave of the bishop, being either simply ignorant or boldly dissembling;"[g] implying that they could not else but know their duties to be, to procure episcopal license for their ministrations. "Ab universis episcopis dictum est, Quisquis presbyter inconsulto episcopo agenda in quolibet loco voluerit celebrare, ipse honori suo contrarius existit;—All the bishops said, If any priest, without leave of his bishop, shall celebrate the mysteries, be the place what it will be, he is an enemy to the bishop's dignity."

After this in time, but before in authority, is the great council of Chalcedon: Οἱ κληρικοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων παράδοσιν, διαμενέτωσαν·—"Let the clergy, according to the tradition of the fathers, remain under the power of the bishops of the city."[h] So that they are, for their offices, in dependence of the authority of the bishop. The canon instances particularly to priests officiating in monasteries and hospitals, but extends itself to an indefinite expression, καὶ μὴ καταυθαδιάζεσθαι, ἢ ἀφηνιᾷν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου·—"They must not dissent or differ from their bishop;" οἱ δὲ τολμῶντες ἀνατρέπειν τὴν τοιαύτην διατύπωσιν καθ' οἱονδήποτε τρόπον, &c.—"All they that transgress this constitution, in any way, not submitting to their bishop, let them be punished canonically." So that now these general expressions of obedience and subordination to the bishop, being to be understood according to the exigence of the matter, to wit, the ministries of the clergy in their several offices,—the canon extends its prohibition to all ministrations, without the bishop's authority.

But it was more clearly and evidently law and practice in the Roman Church; we have good witness for it; St. Leo, the bishop of that church, is my author: "Sed neque coram episcopo licet presbyteris in baptisterium introire, nec præsente antistite infantem tingere, aut signare, nec pœnitentem sine præceptione episcopi sui reconciliare, nec eo præsente, nisi illo jubente, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, nec eo coràm posito populum docere, vel benedicere," &c.—"It is not lawful for the presbyters to enter

[g] Can. 9. [h] Can. 8. part. 2. Act. xiv.

into the baptistery, nor to baptize any catechumens, nor to consecrate the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, in the presence of the bishop, without his command."[i] From this place of St. Leo, if it be set in conjunction with the precedent, we have fair evidence of this whole particular. It is not lawful to do any offices without the bishop's leave; so St. Ignatius; so the canons of the Apostles; so Tertullian; so the Councils of Antioch and Chalcedon. It is not lawful to do any offices in the bishop's presence without leave; so St. Leo. The Council of Carthage joins them both together, 'neither in his presence, nor without his leave in any place.'

Now, against this practice of the Church, if any man should discourse as St. Jerome is pretended to do by Gratian, "Qui non vult presbyteros facere quæ jubentur à Deo, dicat quis major est Christo; — He that will not let presbyters do what they are commanded to do by God, let him tell us if any man be greater than Christ;"[k] viz. whose command it is that presbyters should preach. Why then did the Church require the bishop's leave? Might not presbyters do their duty without a license? This is it which the practice of the Church is abundantly sufficient to answer. For to the bishop is committed the care of the whole diocese; he it is that must give the highest account for the whole charge; he it is who is appointed, by peculiar designation, to feed the flock; so the canon of the Apostles;[l] so Ignatius;[m] so the Council of Antioch; so every where, the presbyters are admitted 'in partem solicitudinis;' but still the jurisdiction of the whole diocese is in the bishop; and without the bishop's admission to a part of it 'per traditionem subditorum,' although the presbyter by his ordination have a capacity of preaching and administering sacraments, yet he cannot exercise this without designation of a particular charge, either temporary or fixed. And, therefore, it is that a presbyter may not do these acts without the bishop's leave, because they are actions of relation, and suppose a congregation to whom they must be administered, or some particular person; for a priest must not preach to the stones, as some say Venerable Bede

[i] Epist. 86. [k] Dist. 95. cap. Ecce ego. [l] Can. 40.
[m] Epist. ad Ephes. iii. c. 24.

did, nor communicate alone: the word is destructive of the thing; nor baptize, unless he have a chrysome child, or a catechumen. So that all of the diocese being the bishop's charge, the bishop must either authorise the priest, or the priest must not meddle, lest he be (what St. Peter blamed) ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος,—'a bishop in another's diocese:' not that the bishop did license the acts precisely of baptizing, of consecrating, &c.; for these he had by his ordination: but that in giving license, he did give him a subject to whom he might apply these relative actions, and did 'quoad hoc' take him 'in partem solicitudinis,' and concredit some part of his diocese to his administration 'cum cura animarum.'

But then, on the other side, because the whole cure of the diocese is in the bishop, he cannot exonerate himself of it, for it is a burden of Christ's imposing, or it is not imposed at all; therefore, this taking of presbyters into part of the regiment and care does not divest him of his own power, or any part of it, nor yet ease him of his care; but that as he must still ἐπισκοπεῖν, 'visit' and 'see to his diocese,' so he hath authority still in all parts of his diocese; and this appears in these places now quoted; insomuch as when the bishop came to any place, there the 'vicaria' of the presbyters did cease—'In præsentiâ majoris cessat potestas minoris.' And though, because the bishop could not do all the minor and daily offices of the priesthood, in every congregation of his diocese, therefore he appointed priests severally to officiate, himself looking to the metropolis and the daughter-churches by a general supravision; yet when the bishop came into any place of his diocese, there he, being present, might do any office, because it was in his own charge; which he might concredit to another, but not exonerate himself of it; and, therefore, 'præsente episcopo' (say the Council of Carthage and St. Leo), 'if the bishop be present,' the presbyter, without leave, might not officiate; for he had no subjects of his own, but by trust and delegation; and this delegation was given him to supply the bishop's absence, who could not 'simul omnibus interesse;' but then, where he was present, the cause of delegation ceasing, the jurisdiction also ceased, or was at least absorbed in the greater, and so, without leave, might not be exercised; like the stars, which in the noon-day have

their own natural light, as much as in the night, but appear not, shine not, in the presence of the sun.

This, perhaps, will seem uncouth in those presbyters, who (as the Council of Carthage's expression is) are 'contrarii honori episcopali;' but yet, if we keep ourselves in our own form, where God hath placed us, and where we were in the Primitive Church, we shall find all this to be sooth, and full of order. For consider: the elder the prohibition was, the more absolute and indefinite it runs: "Without the bishop it is not lawful to baptize, to consecrate," &c. So Ignatius. The prohibition is without limit: but in descent of the Church it runs, 'præsente episcopo,' 'the bishop being present,' they must not without leave. The thing is all one, and a derivation from the same original, to wit, the 'universality of the bishop's jurisdiction:' but the reason of the difference of expression is this: at first presbyters were in cities with the bishop, and no parishes at all concredited to them. The bishops lived in cities; the presbyters preached, and offered κατ' οἶκον, 'from house to house,' according as the bishop directed them. Here they had no ordinary charge, and, therefore, the first prohibitions run indefinitely; they must not do any clerical offices 'sine episcopo,'—unless the bishop sends them.' But then, afterwards, when the parishes were distinct, and the presbyters fixed upon ordinary charges, then it was only 'præsente episcopo,' 'if the bishop was present,' they might not officiate without leave. For, in his absence, they might do it, I do not say without leave, but I say they had leave given them, when the bishop sent them to officiate in a village with ordinary or temporary residence, as it is to this day; when the bishop institutes to a particular charge, he also gives power 'hoc ipso,' of officiating in that place. So that at first, when they did officiate in places by temporary missions, then they were to have leave, but this license was also temporary; but when they were fixed upon ordinary charges, they might not officiate without leave, but then they had an ordinary leave given, 'in traditione subditorum,' and that was done in 'subsidium muneris episcopalis,' because it was that part of the bishop's charge which he could not personally attend, for execution of the minor offices, and, therefore, concredited it to a presbyter; but if he was present,

a new leave was necessary; because, as the power always was in the bishop, so now the execution also did return to him when he was there in person; himself, if he listed, might officiate.

All this is excellently attested in the example of St. Austin, of whom Possidonius, in his life, reports, that being but a presbyter, Valerius, the bishop, being a Greek born, and not well spoken in the Latin tongue, and so unfit for public orations: "Eidem presbytero," (viz. to Austin), "potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesiâ evangelium prædicandi, ac frequentissimè tractandi contra usum quidem, et consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum; — He gave leave to Austin, then but presbyter, to preach in the church, even while himself was present; indeed, against the use and custom of the African churches." And for this act of his he suffered soundly in his report, for the case was thus: in all Africa, ever since the first spring of the Arian heresy, the Church had then suffered so much by the preaching of Arius, the presbyter, that they made a law not to suffer any presbyter to preach at all, at least in the mother church, and in the bishop's presence: Τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἀφ' οὗ Ἄρειος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτάραξε, saith Socrates: "Thence came this custom in the African churches."[n] But because Valerius saw St. Austin so able, and himself, for want of Latin, so unfit, he gave leave to Austin to preach before him, against the custom of the African churches; but he adds this reason for his excuse too; it was not, indeed, the custom of Africa, but it was of the Oriental churches. For so Possidonius proceeds: "Sed et ille vir venerabilis, ac providus in Orientalibus ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens;" in the Levant it was usual for bishops to give presbyters leave to preach; "Dummodo factitaretur à presbytero quod à se episcopo impleri minime posse cernebat," which determines us fully in the business. For this leave to do offices was but there to be given 'where the bishop himself could not fulfil the offices;' which shews the presbyters, in their several charges, whether of temporary mission, or fixed residence, to be but delegates and vicars of the bishop, admitted 'in partem solicitudinis;' to assist the bishop in his great charge of the whole diocese.

[n] Lib. v. c. 22.

Against this it is objected, out of St. Jerome, and it is recorded by Gratian, "Ecce ego dico præsentibus episcopis suis, atque adstantibus in altari, presbyteros posse sacramenta conficere:—Behold, I say that presbyters may minister sacraments in the presence of the bishop:" so Gratian quotes it, indeed;[p] but St. Jerome says the express contrary, unless we all have false copies. For in St. Jerome it is not '*ecce* ego dico,' but '*nec* ego dico.' He does not say it is lawful for presbyters to officiate in the presence of their bishop. Indeed, St. Jerome is angry at Rusticus, bishop of Narbona, because he would not give leave to presbyters to preach, nor to bless, &c. This, perhaps, was not well done, but it makes not against the former discourse; for though it may be fit for the bishop to give leave, the Church requiring it still more and more in descent of ages, and multiplication of Christians and parishes,—yet it is clear that this is not to be done without the bishop's leave; for it is for this very thing that St. Jerome disputes against Rusticus, to shew he did amiss, because he would not give his presbyters license. And this he also reprehends in his epistle, "ad Nepotianum:" "Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui;—That presbyters might not be suffered to preach in presence of the bishop, that was an ill custom;" to wit, as things then stood: and it was mended presently after, for presbyters did preach in the bishop's presence, but it was by license from their ordinary. For so Possidonius relates, that upon this act of Valerius, before mentioned, "Postea currente et volante hujusmodi famâ, bono præcedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli, coram episcopis, populis tractare cœperunt verbum Dei:—By occasion of this precedent it came to pass, that some presbyters did preach to the people in the bishop's presence, having first obtained faculty from the bishop so to do." And a little after it became a custom, from a general faculty and dispensation, indulged to them in the second Council of Vase.[q] Now, if this evidence of church-practice be not sufficient to reconcile us to St. Jerome, let him then first be reconciled to himself, and then we are sure to be

[p] Ad Rustic. Narbon. dist. 95. can. Ecce Ego.

[q] Can. 12.

helped: for, in his dialogue against the Luciferians, his words are these: "Cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot efficientur schismata quot sunt sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine episcopi missione neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeat baptizandi:—Because the bishop hath an eminent power, and this power is necessary; thence it comes that neither presbyter nor deacon may so much as baptize without the bishop's leave."

This whole discourse shews clearly, not only the bishops to be superior in jurisdiction, but that they have sole jurisdiction, and the presbyters only in substitution and vicarage.

SECTION XXXVIII.

Reserving Church-Goods to Episcopal Dispensation.

Divers other acts there are to attest the superiority of the bishop's jurisdiction over priests and deacons, as that all the goods of the Church were in the bishop's sole disposing; and as at first they were laid at the apostles' feet, so afterwards at the bishops'. So it is in the forty-first Canon of the Apostles; so it is in the Council of Gangra: and all the world are excluded from intervening in the dispensation, without express delegation from the bishop, as appears in the seventh and eighth canons, and that under pain of an anathema by the holy council. And, therefore, when, in success of time, some patrons, that had founded churches and endowed them, thought that the dispensation of those lands did not belong to the bishop: of this the third Council of Toledo complains, and makes remedy, commanding, "ut omnia, secundum constitutionem antiquam, ad episcopi ordinationem et potestatem pertineant."[a] The same is renewed in the fourth Council of Toledo: "Noverint autem conditores basilicarum, in rebus quas eisdem ecclesiis conferunt, nullam se potestatem habere, sed juxta canonum instituta, sicut ecclesiam, ita et dotem ejus ad ordinationem episcopi pertinere."[b] These councils I produce, not as judges, but as

[a] An. Dom. 589. [b] Cap. xxxii.

witnesses in the business; for they give concurrent testimony, that 'as the Church itself, so the dowry of it too, did belong to the bishop's disposition by the ancient canons.'[c] For so the third Council of Toledo calls it, "antiquam constitutionem," and itself is almost 1100 years old; so that still I am precisely within the bounds of the Primitive Church, though it be taken in a narrow sense. For so it was determined in the great Council of Chalcedon, commanding that the goods of the Church should be dispensed by a clergy steward, κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου,—"according to the pleasure or sentence of the bishop."

SECTION XXXIX.

Forbidding Presbyters to leave their own Diocese, or to travel, without Leave of the Bishop.

ADD to this, that without the bishop's dimissory letters, presbyters might not go to another diocese. So it is decreed in the fifteenth canon of the Apostles, under pain of 'suspension or deposition;' μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν is the censure; and that especially, εἰ, προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου αὐτοῦ, ἐπανελθεῖν οὐκ ὑπήκουσεν,—"if he would not return when his bishop calls him." The same is renewed in the Council of Antioch, cap. iii., and in the Council of Constantinople, in Trullo, cap. xvii.; the censure there is, καθαιρεῖσθω καὶ αὐτὸς, —"Let him be deposed, that shall, without dimissory letters from the bishop," ἐν ἑτέρᾳ καταστήσεσθαι ἐκκλησίᾳ,—"fix himself in the diocese of another bishop;" but with license of his bishop he may: "Sacerdotes, vel alii clerici, concessione suorum episcoporum, possunt ad alias ecclesias transmigrare."[a] But this is frequently renewed in many other synodal decrees; these may suffice for this instance.

But this not leaving the diocese, is not only meant of promotion in another church; but clergymen might not travel from city to city without the bishop's license; which is not only an argument of his regiment, 'in genere politico,'

[c] Can. 26. Vide Zonaram in hunc canonem. Videatur Concil. Carthag. Græc. can. 36, 38, et 41; et Balsam. ibid. et Apologia 2. Justini Martyris.

[a] Vide Concil. Epaun. c. v.; et Venet. c. x.

but extends it almost to a despotic; but so strict was the Primitive Church in preserving the strict tie of duty and clerical subordination to their bishop. The Council of Laodicea commands a priest or clergyman, ἄνευ κανονικῶν γραμμάτων μὴ ὁδεύειν,—"not to travel without canonical or dimissory letters."[b] And who are to grant these letters is expressed in the next canon, which repeats the same prohibition, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικὸν ἢ κληρικὸν ἄνευ κελεύσεως ἐπισκόπου ὁδεύειν,—"a priest or a clerk must not travel without the command of his bishop;"[c] and this prohibition is inserted into the body of the law, 'De Consecrat. dist. 5. can. Non oportet,' which puts in the clause of "Neque etiam laicum;" but this was beyond the council. The same is in the Council of Agatho.[d] The Council of Venice adds a censure,[e] that those clerks should be like persons excommunicate in all those places, whither they went without letters of license from their bishop. The same penalty is inflicted by the Council of Epaunum, "Presbytero, vel diacono, sine antistitis sui epistolis ambulanti, communionem nullus impendat."[f] The first Council of Touraine, in France, and the third Council of Orleans, attest the self-same power in the bishop, and duty in all his clergy.

SECTION XL.

And the Bishop had Power to prefer which of his Clerks he pleased.

But a coercitive authority makes not a complete jurisdiction, unless it be also remunerative; and "the princes of the nations are called εὐεργέται,—benefactors;" for it is but half a tie to endear obedience, when the subject only fears "quod prodesse non poterit,—that which cannot profit." And, therefore, the Primitive Church, to make the episcopal jurisdiction up entire, gave power to the bishop to present the clerks of his diocese to the higher orders and nearer degrees of approximation to himself; and the clerks might not refuse

[b] Can. 41. [c] Can. 42. [d] Can. 38.
[e] Can. 5. [f] Can. 6.

to be so promoted. "Item placuit, ut quicunque clerici vel diaconi, pro necessitatibus ecclesiarum, non obtemperaverint episcopis suis, volentibus eos ad honorem ampliorem in sua ecclesia promovere, nec illic ministrent in gradu suo, unde recedere noluerunt." So it is decreed in the African code: "They that will not, by their bishop, be promoted to a greater honour in the Church, must not enjoy what they have already."[a]

But it is a question of great consideration, and worth a strict inquiry, in whom the right and power of electing clerks was resident in the Primitive Church: for the right and the power did not always go together, and also several orders had several manners of election; presbyters and inferior clergy were chosen by the bishop alone; the bishop by a synod of bishops, or by their chapter; and lastly, because, of late, strong outcries are made upon several pretensions, amongst which the people make the biggest noise, though of all their title to election of clerks be most empty; therefore, let us consider it upon all its grounds.

1. In the Acts of the Apostles, which are most certainly the best precedents for all acts of Holy Church, we find that "Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every church," and "they passed through Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, and Derbe," χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους,—"appointing them elders." St. Paul chose Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and he says of himself and Titus, "For this cause I sent thee to Crete," ἵνα καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους,—"that thou shouldest appoint presbyters or bishops" (be they which they will) "in every city." The word καταστήσῃς signifies that the whole action was his. For that he ordained them, no man questions; but he also appointed them, and that was, saith St. Paul, ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην,—"as I commanded thee."[b] It was, therefore, an apostolical ordinance, that the bishop should appoint presbyters. Let there be half so much shewn for the people, and I will also endeavour to promote their interest. There is only one pretence of a popular election in Scripture; it is of the seven that were set over the widows. But first, this was no part of the hierarchy: this was no cure of souls: this was no Divine institution; it was in the

[a] Can. 31. [b] Tit. v. 5.

dispensation of monies: it was by command of the apostles the election was made, and they might recede from their own right: it was to satisfy the multitude: it was to avoid scandal, which, in the dispensation of monies, might easily arise: it was in a temporary office: it was with such limitations and conditions as the apostles prescribed them: it was out of the number of the Seventy that the election was made, if we may believe St. Epiphanius, so that they were presbyters before this choice: and, lastly, it was only a nomination of seven men; the determination of the business, and the authority of rejection was still in the apostles, and indeed the whole power "whom we may appoint over this business:" and, after all this, there can be no hurt done by the objection, especially since clearly and indubiously the election of bishops and presbyters was in the apostles' own persons: ὁ πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν, saith St. Ignatius of Evodias: "Evodias was first appointed to be your governor or bishop by the apostles;"[c] and themselves did commit it to others that were bishops, as in the instances before reckoned. Thus the case stood in Scripture.

2. In the practice of the Church it went according to the same law and practice apostolical. The people did not, might not, choose the ministers of Holy Church. So the Council of Laodicea: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον· — "The people must not choose those that are to be promoted to the priesthood."[d] The prohibition extends to their non-election of all the superior clergy, bishops, and presbyters. But who then must elect them? The Council of Nice determines that; for in the sixteenth and seventeenth canons, the council forbids any promotion of clerks to be made, but by the bishop of that church where they are first ordained: which clearly reserves to the bishop the power of retaining or promoting all his clergy.

3. All ordinations were made by bishops alone, as I have already proved. Now let this be confronted with the practice of Primitive Christendom, that no presbyter might be ordained 'sine titulo,' without a particular charge, which was always custom, and at last grew to be a law in the Council of

[c] Epist. ad Antioch. [d] Can. 13.

Chalcedon: and we shall perceive that the ordainer was the only chooser; for then to ordain a presbyter was also to give him a charge; and the patronage of a church was not a lay inheritance, but part of the bishop's cure, for he had φροντίδα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν πόλει, καὶ χώρᾳ,—"the care of the churches in all the diocese;" as I have already shewn. And, therefore, when St. Jerome, according to the custom of Christendom, had specified some particular ordinations or election of presbyters by bishops, as how himself was made priest by Paulinus, and Paulinus by Epiphanius of Cyprus, "Gaudeat episcopus judicio suo, cùm tales Christo elegerit sacerdotes:—Let the bishop rejoice in his own act, having chosen such worthy priests for the service of Christ."[e]

Thus St. Ambrose gives intimation, that the dispensing all the offices in the clergy was solely in the bishop: "Hæc spectet sacerdos, et quod cuique congruat, id officii deputet;—Let the bishop observe these rules, and appoint every one his office, as is best answerable to his condition and capacity."[f] And Theodoret reports of Leontius, the bishop of Antioch, how, being an Arian, "Adversarios recti dogmatis suscipiens, licet turpem habentes vitam, ad presbyteratûs tamen ordinem et diaconatûs evexit. Eos autem qui universis virtutibus ornabantur et apostolica dogmata defendebant, absque honore deseruit.[g]—He advanced his own faction, but would not promote any man that was catholic and pious." So he did. The power, therefore, of clerical promotion was in his own hands. This thing is evident and notorious; and there is scarce any example in antiquity of either presbyters or people choosing any priest, but only in the case of St. Austin, whom the people's haste snatched, and carried him to their bishop, Valerius, entreating him to ordain him priest. This, indeed, is true, that the testimony of the people, for the life of them that were to be ordained, was by St. Cyprian ordinarily required: "In ordinandis clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare;—It was his custom to advise with his people concerning the public fame of clerks to be ordained;" it was usual, I say,

[e] Epist. 61 et 62. Hieron. ad Nepotian.
[f] Lib. i. Offic. c. 44.
[g] Tripart. Hist. lib. v. c. 32.

with him, but not perpetual; for it was otherwise in the case of Celerinus, and divers others, as I shewed elsewhere.

4. In election of bishops, though not of priests, the clergy and the people had a greater actual interest, and did often intervene with their silent consenting suffrages or public acclamations. But first; this was not necessary. It was otherwise among the apostles, and in the case of Timothy, of Titus, of St. James, of St. Mark, and all the successors, whom they did constitute in the several charges. 2. This was not by law, or right, but in fact only. It was against the canon of the Laodicean Council, and the thirty-first canon of the Apostles, which, under pain of deposition, commands that a bishop be not promoted to his church by the intervening of any lay power.[h]

Against this discourse, St. Cyprian is strongly pretended: "Quando ipsa [plebs] maximè habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi: quod et ipsum videmus de Divina auctoritate descendere," &c. Thus he is usually cited: "The people have power to choose or to refuse their bishops, and this comes to them from Divine authority." No such matter. The following words expound him better: "Quod et ipsum videmus de Divinâ auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos, plebe præsente, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur:—That the bishop is chosen publicly, in the presence of the people, and he only be thought fit who is approved by public judgment and testimony:" or, as St. Paul's phrase is, "He must have a good report of all men:" that is indeed a Divine institution: and that to this purpose, and for the public attestation of the act of election and ordination, the people's presence was required, appears clearly by St. Cyprian's discourse in this epistle. For what is the Divine authority that he mentions? It is only the example of Moses, whom God commanded to take the son of Eleazar, and clothe him with his father's robes, 'coram omni synagoga,—before all the congregation.' The people chose not; God chose Eleazar, and Moses consecrated him, and the people stood and looked on: that is all this argument can supply. Just thus bishops are and ever were ordained:

[h] Epist. 68.

"Non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientiâ:—In the sight of the people standing by:" but to what end? "Ut, plebe præsente, detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur." All this while the election is not in the people, nothing but the public testimony and examination; for so it follows, "Et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata."

But St. Cyprian hath two more proofs whence we may learn either the sense or the truth of his assertion. The one is of the apostles ordaining the seven deacons; but this we have already examined: the other of St. Peter choosing St. Matthias into the apostolate; it was indeed done in the presence of the people. But here it is considerable, that at this surrogation of St. Matthias, the number of the persons present was but one hundred and twenty, of which eleven were apostles, and seventy-two were disciples and presbyters; they make up eighty-three, and then there remains but thirty-seven of the laity, of which many were women, which I know not yet whether any man would admit to the election of an apostle; and whether they do or do not, the laity is a very inconsiderable number, if the matter had been to be carried by plurality of voices; so that let the worst come that is imaginable, the whole business was, in effect, carried by the clergy, whom, in this case, we have no reason to suspect to be divided, and of a distinct or disagreeing interest. Let this discourse be of what validity it will, yet all this whole business was miraculous and extraordinary; for though the apostles named two candidates, yet the Holy Ghost chose them by particular revelation. And yet, for all this, it was lawful for St. Peter alone to have done it without casting lots. "An non licebat ipsi [Petro] eligere? Licebat, et quidem maxime; verum id non facit, ne cui videretur gratificari. Quanquam alioqui non erat particeps Spiritûs." For all 'he had not as yet received the Holy Ghost, yet he had power himself to have completed the election.' So St. Chrysostom.[1]

So that now, if St. Cyprian means more than the presence of the people for suffrage of public testimony, and extends it to a suffrage of formal choice, his proofs of the Divine

[1] Homil. iii. in Act.

authority are invalid; there is no such thing can be deduced from thence; and then this his complying so much with the people, which hath been the fault of many a good man, may be reckoned together with his rebaptization. But truth is, he means no more than suffrage of testimony, viz. that he who is to be chosen bishop be, for his good life, a man of good fame, and approved of before God and all the people; and this is all the share they have in their election. And so indeed himself sums up the whole business, and tells us of another 'jus Divinum' too: "Propter quod diligenter de traditione Divinâ, et apostolicâ observatione, observandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, et ferè apud provincias universas, tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quinque conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit:— It is most diligently to be observed, for there is a Divine tradition and an apostolical ordinance for it, and it is used by us, and almost by all churches, that all the bishops of the province assembled to the making of right ordinations, and that a bishop be chosen in the face of the people, who best know their life and conversation." So that the bishops were to make the formal election, the people to give their judgment of approbation in this particular, and so much as concerned the exemplary piety and good life of him that was to be their bishop. Here we see in St. Cyprian is a 'jus Divinum' for the bishop's choosing a colleague or a brother-bishop, as much as for the presence of the people, and yet the presence was all. And howsoever the people were present to give this testimony, yet the election was clearly in the bishops, and that by Divine tradition and apostolical observation, saith St. Cyprian; and thus it was in all churches almost.

In Africa this was, and so it continued till after St. Austin's time, particularly in the choice of Eradius, his successor. It was so in the Greek Church, as St. Chrysostom tells us.[k] It was so in Spain, as St. Isidore tells us;[l] and in many other places, that the people should be present, and

[k] Epist. 120. lib. iii. de Sacerd. [l] Lib. ii. de Offic.

give acclamation and tumultuary approbation; but to the formal election of the clergy, made by enumeration of votes and subscription, the people never were admitted.

5. Although that in times of persecution, at first, and to comply with the people, who were, in all respects, to be sweetened, to make them, with easier appetite, swallow the bitter pill of persecution, and also to make them more obedient to their bishop, if they did, though but in a tumult and noise, cry him up in his ordination: "Ne plebs in vita episcopum non optatum, aut contemnat, aut oderit, et fiat minùs religiosa quàm convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit," for so St. Leo expresses the cause;[m] yet the formality and right of proper election was in the clergy, and often so practised without any consent at all, or intervening act of the people. The right, I say, was in the bishops; so it was decreed in the Nicene council: Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· —"The bishop must be appointed or constituted by all the bishops of the province:" Τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ· —"It must be confirmed and established by the metropolitan."[n] No presbyters here all this while, no people. But the exercise of this power is more clearly seen in the acts of some councils, where the fathers degraded some bishops, and themselves appointed others in their rooms. The bishops in the Council of Constantinople deposed Marcellus: "In cujus locum Basilium in Ancyram miserunt: —They sent Basilius, bishop, in his room," saith Sozomen.[o] "Ostendat Bassianus si per synodum reverendissimorum episcoporum, et consuetâ lege episcopus Ephesiorum metropolis est constitutus," said the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon:[p]—"Let Bassianus shew that he was made bishop of Ephesus by a synod of bishops, and according to the accustomed law." The law I shewed before, even the Nicene canon: the fathers of which council sent a synodal epistle to the Church of Alexandria, to tell them they had deposed Melitius from the office of a bishop, only left him the name, but 'took from him all power:' "Nullam verò omnimodò habere potestatem, neque eligendi, neque ordinandi,"[q] &c.

[m] Epist. 84. c. 5.
[n] Can. 4.
[o] Tripart. Hist. lib. iii. c. 9.
[p] Act. ii.
[q] Tripart. Hist. lib. ii. c. 12.

Neither suffering him to 'choose' nor 'to ordain clerks.' It seems, then, that was part of the episcopal office in ordinary, 'placitos sibi eligere,' as the epistle expresses it in the sequel, 'to choose whom they listed.' But the council deposed Melitius, and sent Alexander, their bishop and patriarch, to rule the church again. And particularly to come home to the case of the present question, when Auxentius, bishop of Milan, was dead, and the bishops of the province, and the clergy of the church, and the people of the city, were assembled at the choosing of another, the emperor makes a speech to the bishops only, that they should be careful in their choice. So that, although the people were present, "quibus pro fide et religione etiam honor deferendus est," as St. Cyprian's phrase is;[r]—"to whom respect is to be had, and fair complyings to be used, so long as they are pious, catholic, and obedient;" yet both the right of electing and solemnity of ordaining was in the bishops; the people's interest did not arrive to one half of this.

6. There are, in antiquity, divers precedents of bishops who chose their own successors; it will not be imagined the people will choose a bishop over his head, and proclaim that they were weary of him. In those days they had more piety. Agelius did so—he chose Sisinnius; and that it may appear it was without the people, they came about him, and entreated him to choose Marcian, to whom they had been beholding in the time of Valens, the emperor; he complied with them, and appointed Marcian to be his successor, and Sisinnius, whom he had first chosen, to succeed Marcian.[s] Thus did Valerius choose his successor, St. Austin; for though the people named him for their priest, and carried him to Valerius to take orders, yet Valerius chose him bishop. And this was usual; ὡς καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις, as Epiphanius expresses this case; it was ordinary to do so in many churches.

7. The manner of election in many churches was various; for although, indeed, the Church had commanded it, and given power to the bishops to make the election, yet, in some times, and in some churches, the presbyters, or the chapter, chose one out of themselves. St. Jerome says they always

[r] Theodor. lib. iv. c. 5. [s] Socrat. lib. v. c. 21.

did so in Alexandria, from St. Mark's time to Heraclas and Dionysius. St. Ambrose says, that at the first the bishop was not, by a formal new election, promoted, but " recedente uno, sequens ei succedebat:—as one died, so the next senior did succeed him."[t] In both these cases no mixture of the people's votes.

8. In the Church of England the people were never admitted to the choice of a bishop, from its first becoming Christian to this very day: and, therefore, to take it from the clergy, in whom it always was by permission of princes, and to interest the people in it, is to recede 'à traditionibus majorum,—from the religion of our forefathers,' and to innovate in a high proportion.

9. In those churches where the people's suffrage (by way of testimony, I mean, and approbation) did concur with the synod of bishops in the choice of a bishop, the people at last, according to their usual guise, grew hot, angry, and tumultuous; and then were engaged, by divisions in religion, to name a bishop of their own sect, and to disgrace one another by public scandal and contestation, and often grew up to sedition and murder; and, therefore, although they were never admitted (unless where themselves usurped) further than I have declared, yet even this was taken from them; especially since in tumultuary assemblies they were apt to carry all before them, they knew not how to distinguish between power and right, they had not well learned to take denial; but began to obtrude whom they listed,—to swell higher, like a torrent, when they were checked; and the soleship of election, which, by the ancient canons, was in the bishops, they would have asserted wholly to themselves, both in right and execution.

I end this with the annotation of Zonaras upon the twelfth canon of the Laodicean Council: " Populi suffragiis olim episcopi eligebantur (understand him in the senses above explicated), sed cùm multæ inde seditiones existerent, hinc factum est ut episcoporum uniuscujusque provinciæ auctoritate eligi episcopum quemque oportere decreverint patres: — Of old time bishops were chosen, not without the suffrage of the people (for they concurred by way of

[t] In Ephes. iv.

testimony and acclamation), but when this occasioned many seditions and tumults, the fathers decreed that a bishop should be chosen by the authority of the bishops of the province. And he adds, that in the election of Damasus, one hundred and thirty-seven men were slain, and that six hundred examples more of that nature were producible.

Truth is, the nomination of bishops in Scripture was in the apostles alone; and though the kindred of our blessed Saviour were admitted to the choice of Simeon Cleophæ, the successor of St. James, to the bishoprick of Jerusalem, as Eusebius witnesses;[u] it was 'propter singularem honorem,—an honorary and extraordinary privilege,' indulged to them for their vicinity and relation to our blessed Lord, the Fountain of all benison to us; and for that very reason Simeon himself was chosen bishop too. Yet this was 'præter regulam apostolicam.' The rule of the apostles and their precedents were for the sole right of the bishops to choose their colleagues in that sacred order. And then in descent, even before the Nicene Council, the people were forbidden to meddle in election, for they had no authority by Scripture to choose; by the necessity of times, and for the reasons before asserted, they were admitted to such a share of the choice as is now folded up in a piece of paper, even to a testimonial; and yet I deny not but they did often take more, as in the case of Nilammon, 'quem cives elegerunt,' saith the story out of Sozomen;[x] they chose him alone (though God took away his life before himself would accept of their choice), and then they behaved themselves oftentimes with so much insolence, partiality, faction, sedition, cruelty, and pagan baseness, that they were quite interdicted it, above one thousand two hundred years ago. So that they had their little in possession but a little while, and never had any due; and therefore, now their request for it is no petition of right, but a popular ambition, and a snatching at a sword to hew the Church in pieces.[y]

But I think I need not have troubled myself half so far; for they that strive to introduce a popular election, would as fain have episcopacy out as popularity of election let in. So

[u] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 11.
[x] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 14.
[y] Vide Dist. 63. per tot. Gratian.

that all this of popular election of bishops may seem superfluous: for I consider, that if the people's power of choosing bishops be founded upon God's law, as some men pretend from St. Cyprian (not proving the thing from God's law, but God's law from St. Cyprian), then bishops themselves must be by God's law; for surely God never gave them power to choose any man into that office, which himself hath no way instituted. And, therefore, I suppose these men will desist from their pretence of Divine right of popular election, if the Church will recede from her Divine right of episcopacy. But for all their blundering and confounding, their bold pretences have made this discourse necessary.

SECTION XLI.

Bishops only did vote in Councils, and neither Presbyters nor People.

If we add to all these foregoing particulars the power of making laws to be in bishops, nothing else can be required to the making up of a spiritual principality. Now, as I have shewn that the bishop of every diocese did give laws to his own church for particulars, so it is evident that the laws of provinces, and of the catholic Church, were made by conventions of bishops, without the intervening or concurrence of presbyters, or any else, for sentence and decision.

The instances of this are just so many as there are of councils. St. Athanasius, reprehending Constantius the Arian, for interposing in the conciliary determinations of faith, "Si judicium episcoporum est," saith he, "quid cum eo commune habet imperator?—It is a judgment to be passed by bishops (meaning the determination of the article), and not proper for the emperor."[a] And when Hosius of Corduba reproved him for sitting president in a council, "Quis enim videns eum in decernendo principem se facere episcoporum, non meritò dicat illum eam ipsam abominationem desolationis?—He that sits president, makes himself chief of the bishops," &c. intimating bishops only to preside

[a] Epist. ad Solitar.

in councils, and to make decision. And, therefore, 'conventus episcoporum' and 'concilium episcoporum' are the words for general and provincial councils. "Bis in anno episcoporum concilia celebrentur," said the thirty-eighth canon of the Apostles; and 'congregatio episcopalis,' the Council of Sardis is called by Theodoret.[b] And when the question was started, in the time of Pope Victor, about the celebration of Easter, "Ob quam causam," saith Eusebius, "conventus episcoporum, et concilia per singulas quasque provincias convocantur."[c] Where, by the way, it is observable, that at first, even provincial synods were only held by bishops, and presbyters had no interest in the decision; however, we have of late sat so near bishops in provincial assemblies, that we have sat upon the bishops' skirts. But my lords the bishops have a concerning interest in this. To them I leave it; and because the four general councils are the precedents and chief of all the rest, I shall only instance in them for this particular.

1. The title of the Nicene Council runs thus: Κανόνες τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων·— "The canons of the three hundred and eighteen fathers met in Nice." These fathers were all that gave suffrage to the canons; for if they had been more, the title could not have appropriated the sanction to three hundred and eighteen. And that there were no more St. Ambrose gives testimony, in that he makes it to be a mystical number; "Nam et Abraham trecentos decem et octo duxit ad bellum: de conciliis id potissimùm sequor, quod trecenti decem et octo sacerdotes velut tropæum extulerunt, ut mihi videatur hoc esse Divinum, quod eodem numero, in conciliis, fidei habemus oraculum, quo, in historiâ, pietatis exemplum."[d] Well! three hundred and eighteen was the number of the judges, the Nicene fathers; and they were all bishops, for so is the title of the subscriptions, "Subscripserunt trecenti decem et octo episcopi, qui in eodem concilio convenerunt;" thirteen whereof were chorepiscopi, but not one presbyter; save only that Vitus and Vincentius subscribed as legates of the bishop of Rome, but not by their own authority.

2. The great Council of Constantinople was celebrated by

[b] Lib. ii. c. 7. [c] Lib. v. c. 23. [d] Proem. in lib. de Fide.

one hundred and fifty bishops: Κανόνες τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνελθόντων that is the title of the canons.—"The canons of one hundred and fifty holy fathers who met in Constantinople:" and that these were all bishops appears by the title of St. Gregory Nazianzen's oration in the beginning of the council. Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζήνου συνταχτήριος εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐπισκόπων παρουσίαν—"The oration of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the presence of one hundred and fifty bishops." And of this council it was that Socrates speaking, "Imperator," saith he, "nullâ morâ interpositâ, concilium episcoporum convocat."[e] Here, indeed, some few bishops appeared by proxy, as Montanus, bishop of Claudiopolis, by Paulus, a presbyter; and Atarbius, bishop of Pontus, by Cylus, a reader; and about some four or five more. This only, amongst the subscriptions I find Tyrannus, Auxanon, Helladius, and Elpidius, calling themselves presbyters. But their modesty hinders not the truth of the former testimonies; they were bishops, saith the title of the council, and the oration, and the canons, and Socrates; and lest there be scruple concerning Auxanon, 'presbyter Apameæ,' because, before Johannes, Apameensis subscribed, which seems to intimate that one of them was the bishop, and the other but a presbyter indeed, without a subterfuge of modesty, the titles distinguish them. For John was bishop in the province of Cœlo-Syria—and Auxanon, of Apamea in Pisidia.

3. The third was the Council of Ephesus, "episcoporum plurium quàm ducentorum," as it is often said in the acts of the council; "of above two hundred bishops," but no presbyters; for, "Cùm episcopi supra ducentos extiterint qui Nestorium deposuerunt, horum subscriptionibus contenti fuimus;—We were content with the subscription of the two hundred and odd bishops," saith the council:[f] and Theodosius junior, in his epistle to the synod, "Illicitum est," saith he, "eum, qui non sit in ordine sanctissimorum episcoporum, ecclesiasticis immisceri tractatibus;—It is unlawful for any but them who are in the order of the most holy bishops, to be interested in ecclesiastical assemblies."

[e] Lib. v. c. 8.

[f] Epist. Synod. ad Clerum. C. Ptanum. part. 2. act. 3. part. 1. c. 32. Vide sect. 36. de Simil. fere Quæstione, in fine.

4. The last of the four great conventions of Christendom was, "sexcentorum triginta episcoporum,—of six hundred and thirty bishops, at Chalcedon, in Bithynia." But in all these assemblies no mere presbyters gave suffrage, except by legation from his bishop and delegation of authority. And, therefore, when in this council some laics and some monks, and some clergymen, not bishops, would interest themselves, Pulcheria, the empress, sent letters to Consularius, to repel them by force, "Si præter nostram evocationem, aut permissionem suorum episcoporum, ibidem commorantur;—Who come without command of the empress, or the bishop's permission." Where it is observable that the bishops might bring clerks with them to assist, to dispute, and to be present in all the action; and thus they often did suffer abbots or archimandrites to be there, and to subscribe too; but that was 'præter regulam,' and by indulgence only and condescension; for when Martinus, the abbot, was requested to subscribe, he answered, "Non suum esse, sed episcoporum tantùm subscribere;—It belonged only to bishops to subscribe to councils."[g] For this reason the fathers themselves often called out in the council, "Mitte foras superfluos; concilium episcoporum est."

But I need not more particular arguments; for, till the Council of Basil, the Church never admitted presbyters, as in their own right, to voice in councils; and that council, we know, savoured too much of the schismatic; but before this council, no example, no precedent of subscriptions of the presbyters, either to œcumenical or provincial synods. Indeed, to a diocesan synod, viz. that of Auxerre, in Burgundy, I find thirty-two presbyters subscribing. This synod was neither œcumenical nor provincial, but merely the convocation of a diocese: for here was but one bishop, and some few abbots, and thirty-two presbyters. It was, indeed, no more than a visitation, or the calling of a chapter; for of this we receive intimation in the seventh canon of that assembly: "Ut, in medio Maio, omnes presbyteri ad synodum venirent;" that was their summons; "et, in Novembri, omnes abbates ad concilium:"[h] so that here is intimation of a yearly synod besides the first convention, the greatest of them but diocesan,

[g] Action. 1. Concil. Chalced. [h] Concil. Antisiodor. can. 7.

and, therefore, the lesser, but 'conventus capitularis;' or, however, not enough to give evidence of a subscription of presbyters to so much as a provincial council; for the guise of Christendom was always otherwise, and, therefore, it was the best argument that the bishops, in the Arian hurry, used to acquit themselves from the suspicion of heresy: "Neque nos sumus Arii sectatores; quî namque fieri potest, ut cùm simus episcopi, Ario presbytero auscultemus?"[i] Bishops never receive determination of any article from priests, but priests do from bishops: "Nam vestrum est eos instruere," saith St. Clement, speaking of the bishop's office and power over priests and all the clergy, and all the diocese; "eorum est vobis obedire, ut Deo, cujus legatione fungimini."[k] And, a little after: "Audire ergo eum attentius oportet, et ab ipso suscipere doctrinam fidei, monita autem vitæ à presbyteris inquirere;—Of the priests we must inquire for rules of good life; but of the bishop receive positions and determinations of faith."

Against this if it be objected, "Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet;—That which is of general concernment, must also be of general scrutiny:" I answer, it is true, unless where God himself hath intrusted the care of others in a body, as he hath in the bishops, and will require the souls of his diocese at his hand, and commanded us to require the law at their mouths, and to follow their faith,[l] whom he hath set over us. And, therefore, the determination of councils pertains to all, and is handled by all, not in diffusion, but in representation. For, "Ecclesia est in episcopo, et episcopus in ecclesiâ," saith St. Cyprian: "The Church is in the bishop," viz. by representment, "and the bishop is in the Church,"[m] viz. as a pilot in a ship, or a master in a family, or rather as a steward and guardian, to rule in his master's absence; and for this reason the synod of the Nicene bishops is called, in Eusebius, 'conventus orbis terrarum,'[n] and, by St. Austin, 'consensus totius ecclesiæ;' not that the whole Church was there present, in their several persons,

[i] Socrat. lib. ii. c. 7.
[k] Epist. 3. per Ruffinum.
[l] Heb. xiii. 7. and 17. 1 Pet. v. 2. Acts, xx.
[m] Epist. 69.
[n] Lib. iii. de Vita Constant. lib. de Baptis. cap. 18.

but was there represented by the catholic bishops; and, if this representment be not sufficient for obligation to all, I see no reason but the ladies, too, may vote in councils; for I doubt not but they have souls too.

But, however, if this argument were concluding in itself, yet it loses its force in England, where the clergy are bound by laws of parliament, and yet, in the capacity of clergymen, are allowed to choose neither procurators to represent us as clergy, nor knights of the shire to represent us as commons. In conclusion of this, I say to the presbyters, as St. Ambrose said of the lay-judges, whom the Arians would have brought to judge in council (it was an old heretical trick): "Veniant planè, si qui sunt, ad ecclesiam, audiant cum populo, non ut quisquam judex resideat, sed unusquisque de suo affectu habeat examen, et eligat quem sequatur;—So may presbyters be present; so they may judge, not for others, but for themselves."[o] And so may the people be present, and anciently were so; and therefore councils were always kept in open churches, 'ubi populus judicat,' not for others, but for themselves; not by external sentence, but internal conviction; so St. Ambrose expounds himself in the forecited allegation.

There is no considerable objection against this discourse, but that of the first Council of Jerusalem, where the apostles and elders did meet together, to determine of the question of circumcision; for, although in the story of celebration of it, we find no man giving sentence but Peter and James, yet, in Acts xvi. they are called δόγματα κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,—"decrees judged by the apostles and elders." But first, in this the difficulty is the less, because 'presbyter' was a general word for all that were not of the number of the twelve, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors. And then, secondly, it is none at all, because Paul and Barnabas are signally, and by name, reckoned as present in the synod, and one of them prolocutor, or else both: so that such presbyters may well define in such conventual assemblies. 3. If yet there were any difficulty latent in the story, yet the catholic practice of

[o] Epist. 32.

God's Church is certainly the best expositor of such places, where there either is any difficulty, or where any is pretended; and of this I have already given account.

I remember, also, that this place is pretended for the people's power of voicing in councils. It is a pretty pageant, only that it is against the catholic practice of the Church; against the exigence of Scripture, which bids us require the law at the mouth of our spiritual rulers; against the gravity of such assemblies, for it would force them to be tumultuous; and, at the best, are the worst of sanctions, as being issues of popularity; and, to sum up all, it is no way authorised by this first copy of Christian councils. The pretence is in the synodal letter,[p] written in the name of the 'apostles, and elders, and brethren;' that is, says Geta, the apostles, and presbyters, and people. But why not brethren, that is, all the deacons, and evangelists, and helpers in government and ministers of the churches? There is nothing, either in words or circumstances, to contradict this. If it be asked, who then are meant by elders, if by 'brethren' St. Luke understands these church officers? I answer, that here is such variety, that although I am not certain which officers he precisely comprehends under the distinct titles of elders and brethren, yet here are enough to furnish both with variety; and yet neither to admit mere presbyters, in the present acceptation of the word, nor yet the laity, to a decision of the question, nor authorising the decretal; for, besides the twelve apostles, there were apostolical men which were presbyters, and something more, as Paul, and Barnabas, and Silas, and evangelists, and pastors besides, which might furnish out the last appellative sufficiently. But, however, without any further trouble, it is evident that this word 'brethren' does not distinguish the laity from the clergy: "Now, when they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Judas and Silas, who were apostolical men, are called in Scripture, chief men among the brethren: but this is too known to need a contestation.

I only insert the saying of Basilius, the emperor, in the

[p] Acts, xv. 25.

eighth synod: "De vobis autem laicis, tam qui in dignitatibus, quàm qui absolutè versamini, quid amplius dicam non habeo, quàm quòd nullo modo vobis licet de ecclesiasticis causis sermonem movere, neque penitùs resistere integritati ecclesiæ, et universali synodo adversari:" "Laymen," says the emperor, "must by no means meddle with causes ecclesiastical, nor oppose themselves to the catholic Church, or councils œcumenical." They must not meddle, for these things appertain to the cognizance of bishops and their decision. And now, after all this, what authority is equal to this legislative of the bishops? Μάλιστα δὲ, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας, ὅσαις ἀποδίδοται βουλεύσασθαί τι περί τινων, καὶ κρῖναι καὶ ἐπιτάξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερον, saith Aristotle:[q]—"They are all evidences of power and authority, to deliberate, to determine, or judge, to make laws: but to make laws is the greatest power that is imaginable." The first may belong fairly enough to presbyters; but I have proved the two latter to be appropriate to bishops.

SECTION XLII.

And the Bishop had a Propriety in the Persons of his Clerks.

Lastly, as if all the acts of jurisdiction, and every imaginable part of power, were in the bishop, over the presbyters and subordinate clergy, the presbyters are said to be 'episcoporum presbyteri,' the 'bishops' presbyters,' as having a propriety in them, and therefore a superiority over them; and as the bishop was a dispenser of those things which were 'in bonis ecclesiæ,' so he was of the persons, too, a ruler in propriety. St. Hilary, in the book which himself delivered to Constantine, "Ecclesiæ adhuc," saith he, "per presbyteros meos communionem distribuens;—I still give the holy communion to the faithful people by my presbyters." And, therefore, in the third Council of Carthage, a great deliberation was had about requiring a clerk of his bishop to be promoted in another church: "Denique qui unum habuerit,

[q] Lib. iv. Polit. c. 15.

numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri?" saith Posthumianus;[a]—"If the bishop have but one presbyter, must one be taken from him?" "Id sequor," saith Aurelius, "ut conveniam episcopum ejus, atque ei inculcem quod ejus clericus à quâlibet ecclesiâ postuletur." And it was resolved, "ut clericum alienum, nisi concedente ejus episcopo;—No man shall retain another's clerk without the consent of the bishop, whose clerk he is."

When Athanasius was abused by the calumny of the heretics, his adversaries, and entered to purge himself; "Athanasius ingreditur cum Timotheo presbytero suo;—He comes in with Timothy his presbyter;"[b] and Arsenius, "cujus brachium dicebatur excisum, lector aliquando fuerat Athanasii;—Arsenius was Athanasius's reader." "Ubi autem ventum est ad rumores de poculo fracto à Macario presbytero Athanasii,"[c] &c.;—"Macarius was another of Athanasius's priests." So Theodoret: Peter and Irenæus were two more of his presbyters, as himself witnesses. 'Paulinianus sometimes comes to visit us,' saith St. Jerome to Pammachius, 'but not as your clerk:' "sed ejus à quo ordinatur;—*his* clerk, who did ordain."[d] But these things are too known to need a multiplication of instances.

The sum is this: the question was, Whether or no, and how far, the bishops had superiority over presbyters in the Primitive Church? Their doctrine and practice have furnished us with these particulars: the power of church-goods, and the sole dispensation of them, and a propriety of persons, was reserved to the bishop, for the clergy and church-possessions were in his power, in his administration; the clergy might not travel without the bishop's leave; they might not be preferred in another diocese, without license of their own bishop: in their own churches the bishop had sole power to prefer them; and they must undertake the burden of any promotion, if he calls them to it; without him they might not baptize, not consecrate the eucharist, not communicate, not reconcile penitents, not preach; not only not without his ordination, but not without a special faculty, besides the capacity of their order. The presbyters were bound to obey

[a] Can. 45. Concil. Carthag. 3. [b] Eccles. Hist. lib. x. cap. 17.
[c] Lib. ii. cap. 8. [d] Athanas. Episc. ad Vitam Solitar. agentes.

their bishops in their sanctions and canonical impositions, even by the decree of the apostles themselves, and the doctrine of Ignatius, and the constitution of St. Clement, of the fathers in the Council of Arles, Ancyra, and Toledo, and many others: the bishops were declared to be judges in ordinary of the clergy and people of their diocese, by the concurrent suffrages of almost two thousand holy fathers, assembled in Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, in Carthage, Antioch, Sardis, Aquileia, Taurinum, Agatho, and by the emperor, and by the apostles; and all this attested by the constant practice of the bishops of the Primitive Church inflicting censures upon delinquents, and absolving them as they saw cause, and by the dogmatical resolution of the old catholics, declaring in their attributes and appellatives of the episcopal function, that they have supreme and universal spiritual power (viz. in the sense above explicated) over all the clergy and laity of the diocese; as, "That they are higher than all power, the image of God, the figure of Christ, Christ's vicar, president of the Church, prince of priests, of authority incomparable, unparalleled power," and many more. If all this be witness enough of the superiority of episcopal jurisdiction, we have their depositions, we may proceed as we see cause for, and reduce our episcopacy to the primitive state, for that is truly a reformation, "Id Dominicum quod primum, id hæreticum quod posterius;" and then we shall be sure episcopacy will lose nothing by these unfortunate contestations.

SECTION XLIII.

Their Jurisdiction was over many Congregations, or Parishes.

But against the cause it is objected 'super totam materiam,' that bishops were not diocesan, but parochial; and therefore of so confined a jurisdiction, that perhaps our village or city priests shall advance their pulpit as high as the bishop's throne.

Well! Put case they were not diocesan, but parish bishops,

what then? yet they were such bishops as had presbyters and deacons in subordination to them, in all the particular advantages of the former instances.

2. If the bishops had the parishes, what cure had the priests? so that this will debase the priests as much as the bishops; and if it will confine a bishop to a parish, it will make that no presbyter can be so much as a parish-priest. If it brings a bishop lower than a diocese, it will bring the priest lower than a parish. For set a bishop where you will, either in a diocese or a parish, a presbyter shall still keep the same duty and subordination, the same distance still. So that this objection, upon supposition of the former discourse, will no way mend the matter for any side, but make it far worse; it will not advance the presbytery, but it will depress the whole hierarchy, and all the orders of holy Church.

But because this trifle is so much used amongst the enemies of episcopacy, I will consider it in little; and besides that it does nobody any good advantage, I will represent it in its focus, and shew the falsehood of it.

1. Then it is evident that there were bishops before there were any distinct parishes: for the first division of parishes in the West was by Evaristus, who lived almost one hundred years after Christ, and divided Rome into seven parishes, assigning to every one a presbyter. So Damasus reports of him in the pontifical book: "Hic titulos in urbe Româ divisit presbyteris, et septem diaconos ordinavit, qui custodirent episcopum prædicantem propter stylum veritatis;—He divided the parishes or titles in the city of Rome to presbyters." The same also is, by Damasus, reported of Dionysius, in his life: "Hic presbyteris ecclesias divisit, et cœmiteria, parochiasque, et diœceses constituit." Marcellus increased the number in the year 305. "Hic fecit cœmiterium viâ Salariâ, et viginti-quinque titulos in urbe Româ constituit quasi diœceses propter baptismum, et pœnitentiam multorum qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum;—He made a sepulture or cemetery for the burial of martyrs, and appointed twenty-five titles or parishes:" but he adds, 'quasi diœceses,—as it had been dioceses,' that is, distinct and limited to presbyters, as dioceses were to bishops; and the use of parishes, which he subjoins, clears the business; for he appointed them only

"propter baptismum, et pœnitentiam multorum et sepulturas;—for baptism, and penance, and burial;" for as yet there was no preaching in parishes, but in the mother church. Thus it was in the West.

But in Egypt we find parishes divided something sooner than the earliest of these; for Eusebius reports out of Philo, that the Christians in St. Mark's time had several churches in Alexandria. "Etiam de ecclesiis quæ apud eos sunt, ita dicit. Est autem in singulis locis consecrata orationi domus,"[a] &c. But even before this there were bishops; for in Rome there were four bishops, before any division of parishes, though St. Peter be reckoned for none. And before parishes were divided in Alexandria, St. Mark himself, who did it, was the bishop, and before that time St. James was bishop of Jerusalem, and in divers other places where bishops were, there were no distinct parishes of a while after Evaristus's time; for when Dionysius had assigned presbyters to several parishes, he writes of it to Severus, bishop of Corduba, and desires him to do so too in his diocese, as appears in his epistle to him.

For indeed necessity required it, when the Christians multiplied and grew to be μέγιστος καὶ ἀναρίθμητος λαὸς, as Cornelius called the Roman Christians, 'a great and an innumerable people;'[b] and did 'implere omnia,' as Tertullian's phrase is, 'filled all places:' and public and great assemblies drew danger upon themselves, and increased jealousies in others, and their public offices could not be performed with so diffused and particular advantage,—then they were forced to divide congregations, and assigned several presbyters to their cure, in subordination to the bishop, and so we see the elder Christianity grew, the more parishes there were. At first, in Rome there were none: Evaristus made seven, Dionysius made some more, and Marcellus added twenty-five, and in Optatus's time there were forty.[c]

Well, then, the case is thus: Parishes were not divided at first; therefore, to be sure, they were not of Divine institution. Therefore, it is no Divine institution that a

[a] Lib. ii. Hist. c. 17.

[b] Apud Binium, tom. i. Concil. Euseb. lib. vi. c. 43. Apolog. c. 37.

[c] Lib. ii. contra Parmeniam.

presbyter should be fixed upon a parish; therefore, also, a parish is not, by Christ's ordinance, an independent body; for, by Christ's ordinance, there was no such thing at all, neither absolute nor in dependence neither; and then for the main issue, since bishops were before parishes, in the present sense, the bishops, in that sense, could not be parochial.

But which was first, a private congregation or a diocese? If a private congregation, then a bishop was at first fixed in a private congregation, and so was a parochial bishop. If a diocese was first, then the question will be, how a diocese could be without parishes, for what is a diocese but a jurisdiction over many parishes?

I answer, it is true that diocese and parish are words used now in contradiction; and now a diocese is nothing but the multiplication of many parishes: "Sed non fuit sic ab initio;" for at first, a diocese was 'the city and the regio suburbicaria,—the neighbouring towns;' in which there was no distinction of parishes: that which was a diocese in the secular sense, that is, a particular province or division of secular prefecture, that was the assignation of a bishop's charge. Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Laodicea, were κεφαλαὶ διοικήσεως,—"heads of the diocese," saith Pliny,[d] meaning in respect of secular jurisdiction; so they were in ecclesiastical regiment. And it was so upon great reason, for when the regiment of the church was extended just so as the regiment of the commonwealth, it was of less suspicion to the secular power, while the church-regiment was just fixed together with the political, as if of purpose to shew their mutual consistence, and its own subordination. And besides this, there was in it a necessity; for the subjects of another province or diocese could not, either safely or conveniently, meet where the duty of the commonwealth did not engage them; but being all of one prefecture and diocese, the necessity of public meetings, in order to the commonwealth, would be fair opportunity for the advancement of their Christendom. And this, which at first was a necessity in this case, grew to be a law in all, by the sanction of the Council

[d] Lib. v. c. 29 et 30. Vide Baron. A.D. 39, n. 10. et B. Rhenan. in Notit. Provinc. Imperial. in Descript. Illyrici.

of Chalcedon,[e] and of Constantinople in Trullo,[f] Τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω·—"Let the order of the church follow the order and guise of the commonwealth;" viz. in her regiment and prefecture.

But in the modern sense of this division, a bishop's charge was neither a parish nor a diocese, as they are taken in relation; but a bishop had the supreme care of all the Christians, which he, by himself or his presbyters, had converted; and he also had the charge of endeavouring the conversion of all the country. So that although he had not all the diocese actually in communion and subjection, yet his charge, his diocese, was so much. Just as it was with the apostles, to whom Christ gave all the world for a diocese; yet at first they had but a small congregation, that did actually obey them.

And now to the question: Which was first, a particular congregation or a diocese? I answer, that a diocese was first; that is, the apostles had a charge before they had a congregation of converts; and St. Mark was sent bishop to Alexandria by St. Peter, before any were converted. But, ordinarily, the apostles, when they had converted a city or nation, then fixed bishops upon their charge, and there, indeed, the particular congregation was before the bishop's taking of the diocese; but, then, this city or nation, although it was not the bishop's diocese before it was a particular congregation, yet it was part of the apostles' diocese, and this they concredited to the bishops respectively.

St. Paul was ordained, by the prophets at Antioch, apostle of the uncircumcision; all the Gentiles was his diocese, and even of those places he then received power, which, as yet, he had not converted. So that, absolutely, a diocese was before a particular congregation. But if a diocese be taken collectively, as now it is, for a multitude of parishes united under one bishop, then one must needs be before twenty, and a particular congregation before a diocese; but then that particular congregation was not a parish, in the present sense, for it was not a part of a diocese, taking a diocese for a collection of parishes; but that particular congregation was

[e] Can. 17. [f] Can. 38.

the first fruits of his diocese, and, like a grain of mustard-seed, that in time might, and did, grow up to a considerable height, even to a necessity of distinguishing titles and parts of the diocese, assigning several parts to several priests.

2. We see that the primitive bishops, before the division of parishes, had the city and country; and after the division of parishes, had them all under their jurisdiction, and ever, even before the apostles' times, had several provinces (some of them I mean) within their limits and charges. The thirty-fifth canon of the Apostles gives power to the bishop to dispose only of those things ὅσα πρὸ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ αὐτὴν χώραις,—"which are under his diocese, and the neighbour-villages;" and the same thing is repeated in the ninth and tenth canons of the Council of Antioch, calling it ἀρχαῖον τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα,—"the ancient canon of our forefathers;" and yet itself is older than three of the general councils; and if then it was an ancient canon of the fathers, that the city and villages should be subject to the bishop, surely a primitive bishop was a diocesan.

But a little before this was the Nicene Council,[g] and there, I am sure, we have a bishop that is at least a diocesan: Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείσθω·—"Let the old customs be kept." What are those? Τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ Πενταπόλει. Ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν·—"Let the bishop of Alexandria have power over all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis:" it was a good large parish; and yet this parish, if we have a mind to call it so, was κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος,—"according to the old custom of their forefathers;" and yet that was so early, that St. Anthony was then alive, who was born in St. Irenæus's time, who was himself but second from the apostles.

It was also a good large parish that Ignatius was bishop of, even all Syria, Cœlosyria, Mesopotamia, and both the Ciliciæ. Ἐπίσκοπος Συρίας,—"the bishop of Syria," he calls himself in his epistle to the Romans;[h] and τῶν κατ' ἀνατολὴν ἐπισκόπων ἡγούμενος, so Theodoret:[i] and besides all these, his successors, in the Council of Chalcedon, had the two Phœniciæ and Arabia yielded to them by composition. These alone would have made two or three reasonably good

[g] Can. 6. [h] Lib. v. c. 23. [i] Act. 7.

parishes, and would have taken up time enough to perambulate, had that been then the guise of Christendom. But examples of this kind are infinite. Theodorus, bishop of Cyrus, was pastor over eight hundred parishes; Athanasius was bishop of Alexandria, Egypt, Thebais, Mareotis, Libya, Ammoniaca, and Pentapolis, saith St. Epiphanius;[k] and his predecessor, Julinianus, successor of Agrippinus, was bishop τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν,—"of the churches about Alexandria."[l] Either it was a diocese, or at least a plurality. St. Chrysostom had Pontus, Asia, and all Thrace, in his parish, even as much as came to sixteen prefectures;[m] a fair bounds surely; and so it was with all the bishops: a greater or a lesser diocese they had; but all were diocesan, for they had several parishes: "Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi habent sub se ecclesias," saith Epiphanius, in his epistle to John of Jerusalem,[n] and in his book "contra Hæreses:" "Quotquot enim in Alexandriâ catholicæ ecclesiæ sunt, sub uno archiepiscopo sunt, privatimque ad has destinati sunt presbyteri propter ecclesiasticas necessitates, ita ut habitatores vicini sint uniuscujusque ecclesiæ." All Italy was the parish of Liberius, saith Socrates.[o] Africa was St. Cyprian's parish, saith St. Gregory Nazianzen;[p] and St. Basil the Great was parish-priest to all Cappadocia.[q] But I rather believe, if we examine their several stories, they will rather prove metropolitans than mere parochians.[r]

Thirdly: The ancient canons forbade a bishop to be ordained in a village, castle, or town. It was so decreed in the Council of Laodicea, before the first Nicene, Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους·[s]—"In the villages or countries, bishops must not be constituted." And this was renewed in the Council of Sardis: Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἁπλῶς καθιστᾷν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ἐν βραχείᾳ πόλει ᾗτινι καὶ εἷς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ὑπάρχει·—"It is not lawful to ordain bishops in villages or little towns, to which one presbyter is sufficient;" ἀλλ' ἐπίσκοποι ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστᾷν ἐπισκόπους ὀφείλουσι, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανον γεγονότες ἐπίσκοποι,—"but bishops

[k] Epist. ad Leon. 1. Episc. Rom. Hæres. 86.
[l] Concil. Chalced. act. 16.
[m] Theodoret. lib. v. c. 28.
[n] Apud S. Hieron. Hæres. 69.
[o] Lib. iv. c. 12.
[p] Encom. Cyprian.
[q] Sozom. lib. v. c. 18.
[r] Vide apud Euseb. lib. v. c. 22.
[s] Can. 56.

must ordain bishops in those cities where bishops formerly have been."[t] So that this canon does not make a new constitution, but perpetuates the old sanction. Bishops, 'ab antiquo,' were only ordained in great cities, and presbyters in little villages. Who, then, was the parish-curate? the bishop, or the priest? The case is too apparent.

Only here it is objected, that some bishops were of small towns, and therefore these canons were not observed, and bishops might be, and were, parochial, as St. Gregory, of Nazianzum,—Zoticus, of Comana,—Maris, in Dolicha. The one of these is called κώμη, by Eusebius;[u] and another πολίχνη, by Theodoret,[x] 'a little town.' This is all is pretended for this great scarecrow of parochial bishops.

But, first, suppose these had been parishes, and these three, parochial bishops—it follows not that all were; not those, to be sure, which I have proved to have been bishops of provinces and kingdoms. Secondly: It is a clear case, that Nazianzum, though a small city, yet was the seat of a bishop's throne; so it is reckoned in the διατύπωσις, made by Leo, the emperor,[y] where it is accounted "inter thronos ecclesiarum patriarchæ Constantinopolitano subjectarum," and is in the same account with Cæsarea, with Ephesus, with Crete, with Philippi, and almost fourscore more. As for Zoticus, he indeed came from Comana, a village town, for there he was born;[z] but he was "episcopus Otrenus," "bishop of Otrea, in Armenia," saith Nicephorus.[a] And for Maris, the bishop of Dolicha, it was indeed such a small city, as Nazianzum was, but that proves not but his diocese and territory was large enough. Thus was Asclepius 'vici non grandis,' but yet he was 'Vagensis territorii episcopus.'[b] His seat might usually be in a little city, if it was one of those towns in which, according to the exigence of the canons, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανον γεγονότες ἐπίσκοποι,—"in which bishops anciently were ordained," and yet the appurtenances of his diocese large, and extended, and too great for a hundred parish priests.

Fourthly: The institution of chorepiscopi proves most

[t] Can. 6. [u] Lib. v. c. 16. [x] Lib. v. c. 4.
[y] Jus. Græco. Rom. p. 89. [z] Vide Baron. An. Dom. 205. n. 27.
[a] Lib. iv. c. 25.
[b] Gennad. apud Hieron. Johan. de Trittenheim de Script. Eccles.

evidently that the primitive bishops were diocesan, not parochial; for they were instituted to assist the bishop in part of his country charge, and were *περιοδευται*,—'visitors,' as the Council of Laodicea calls them. But what need of such suffragans, such coadjutors, to the managing of a parish? Indeed, they might possibly have been needful, for the managing of a city priest, especially if a whole city was a parish, as these objectors must pretend, or not say primitive bishops were parochial. But being these chorepiscopi were suffragans to the bishop, and did their offices in the country, while the bishop was resident in the city, either the bishop's parish extended itself from city to country, and then it is all one with a diocese, or else we can find no employment for a chorepiscopus, or visitor. The tenth canon of the Council of Antioch describes their use and power: "Qui in villis et vicis constituti sunt chorepiscopi, placuit sanctæ synodo, ut modum proprium recognoscant, ut gubernent sibi subjectas ecclesias;—They were to govern the churches delegated to their charge." It seems they had many churches under their provision, and yet they were but the bishop's vicars, for so it follows in the canon; he must not ordain any presbyters and deacons, "absque urbis episcopo, cui ipse subjicitur et regio,—without leave of the bishop of the city, to whom both himself and all the country is subordinate."

5. The bishop was one in a city wherein were many presbyters. "Εν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ εἷς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις, saith St. Ignatius;[c]—"There is one altar in every church, and one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons." Either then a whole city, such as Rome or Jerusalem (which, as Josephus reports, had four hundred synagogues), must be but one parish, and then they had as good call a bishop's charge a diocese as a parish in that latitude; or if there were many parishes in a city, and the bishop could have but one of them, why, what hindered but that there might, in a city, be as many bishops as presbyters? for if a bishop can have but one parish, why may not every parish have a bishop? But by the ancient canons, a city, though never so great, could have but one for itself and all the country; therefore, every parish priest was not a bishop, nor the bishop a mere parish priest.

[c] Epist. ad Philadelph.

"Ne in unâ civitate duo sint episcopi," was the constitution of the Nicene fathers, as saith Ruffinus;[d] and long before this, it was so known a business, that one city should have but one bishop, that Cornelius exprobates to Novatus his ignorance:[e] "Is ergo qui evangelium vindicabat, nesciebat in ecclesiâ catholicâ unum episcopum esse debere, ubi videbat esse presbyteros quadraginta et sex;—Novatus (the father of the old Puritans) was a goodly gospeller, that did not know, that, in a catholic church, there should be but one bishop, wherein there were forty-six presbyters;" intimating clearly, that a church that had two bishops, is not catholic, but schismatic at least, if both be pretended to be of a fixed residence: what then is he that would make as many bishops in a church as presbyters? He is Θεόμαχος,—'he fights against God,' if St. Ambrose say true,[f] "Deus enim singulis ecclesiis singulos episcopos præesse decrevit;—God hath decreed that one bishop should rule in one church;" and of what extent this one church was may easily be guessed by himself, who was the ruler and bishop of the great city and province of Milan. And, therefore, when Valerius, as it was then sometimes used in several churches, had ordained St. Austin to be bishop of Hippo, whereof Valerius was also bishop at the same time, St. Austin was troubled at it, as an act most uncanonical, and yet he was not ordained to rule in common with Valerius, but to rule in succession and after the consummation of Valerius.[g] It was the same case in Angelius, a Novatian bishop, ordaining Marcian to be his successor, and Sisinnius to succeed him: the acts were indeed irregular; but yet there was no harm in it to this cause, they were ordained to succeed, not in conjunction. Διχονοίας σύμβολόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλότριον, saith Sozomen:[h] "It is a note of schism, and against the rule of Holy Church, to have two bishops in one chair." "Secundus episcopus nullus est," saith St. Cyprian;[i] and as Cornelius reports it, in his epistle to St. Cyprian, it was the voice of the confessors that had been the instruments and occasions of the Novatian schism, by erecting another bishop: "Nec non ignoramus

[d] Lib. x. Eccl. Hist. [e] Apud Euseb. lib. vi. c. 33. [f] In 1 Cor. xii. [g] Ὡς καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις. Epiphan. Hæres. 66. n. 6. Possidon. in Vitâ S. Aug. c. 8. Socrat. lib. v. c. 21.

[h] Lib. iv. c. 15. [i] Lib. iv. Epist. 2.

unum Deum esse, unum Christum esse Dominum, quem confessi sumus, unum Spiritum Sanctum, unum episcopum in catholicâ ecclesiâ esse debere." And these very words the people also used in the contestation about Liberius and Felix. For when the emperor was willing that Liberius should return to his see, on condition that Felix, the Arian, might be bishop there too, they derided the suggestion, crying out, "One God, one Christ, one bishop." So Theodoret reports.[k] But who lists to see more of this may be satisfied, if plenty will do it, in St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, St. Jerome, Oecumenius,[l] Optatus,[m] St. Ambrose,[n] and if he please he may read a whole book of it written by St. Cyprian, 'de Unitate Ecclesiæ, sive de Singularitate Prælatorum.'

6. Suppose the ordinary dioceses had been parishes, yet what were the metropolitans and the primates? were they also parish-bishops? Surely, if bishops were parochial, then these were at least diocesan by their own argument, for to be sure they had many bishops under them. But there were none such in the Primitive Church? Yes, most certainly. The thirty-fifth canon of the Apostles tells us so most plainly, and, at the worst, they were a very primitive record. "Episcopos gentium singularum scire convenit, quis inter eos primus habeatur, quem velut caput existiment, et nihil amplius præter ejus conscientiam gerant, quàm ea sola quæ parochiæ propriæ, et villis quæ sub eâ sunt, competunt;—The bishops of every nation must know who is their primate, and esteem him as their head, and do nothing without his consent, but those things that appertain to their own diocese." And from hence the fathers of the Council of Antioch derived their sanction:[o] "Per singulas regiones episcopos convenit nosse, metropolitanum episcopum sollicitudinem totius provinciæ gerere, &c.;—The bishops of every province must know, that their metropolitan bishop does take cure of all the province." For this was an apostolical constitution, saith St. Clement,[p] that in the conversion of Gentile cities in place of the archflamines, archbishops, primates, or patriarchs, should be placed, "qui reliquorum episcoporum judicia, et majora (quoties necesse foret) negotia in fide

[k] Lib. ii. c. 11. [l] In 1 Philip. [m] Lib. ii. contra Parmen.
[n] In 1 Tim. iii.; et in 1 Phil. [o] Concil. Antioch. c. ix.
[p] Epist. 1. ad Jacobum Fratrem Domini.

agitarent, et secundùm Dei voluntatem, sicut constituerunt sancti apostoli, definirent." Alexandria was a metropolitical see long before the Nicene Council, as appears in the sixth canon, before cited;[q] nay, Dioscorus, the bishop of that church, was required to bring ten of the metropolitans that he had under him, to the Council of Ephesus, by Theodosius and Valentinian, emperors; so that it was a patriarchate.

These are enough to shew, that in the Primitive Church there were metropolitan bishops. Now, then, either bishops were parochial or no: if no, then they were diocesan; if yea, then at least many of them were diocesan; for they had, according to this rate, many parochial bishops under them. But I have stood too long upon this impertinent trifle; but, as nowadays it is made, the consideration of it is material to the main question. Only this I add, that if any man should trouble the world with any other fancy of his own, and say that our bishops are nothing like the primitive, because all the bishops of the Primitive Church had only two towns in their charge, and no more, and each of these towns had in them one hundred and seventy families, and were bound to have no more, how should this man be confuted? It was just such a device as this in them, that first meant to disturb this question, by pretending that the bishops were only parochial, not diocesan, and that there was no other bishop but the parish-priest. Most certainly, themselves could not believe the allegation, only they knew it would raise a dust. But, by God's providence, there is water enough in the primitive fountains to allay it.

SECTION XLIV.

And was aided by Presbyters, but not impaired.

ANOTHER consideration must here be interposed, concerning the intervening of presbyters in the regiment of the several churches. For though I have twice already shewn, that they could not challenge it of right, either by Divine in-

[q] Vide Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. in Epist.

stitution or apostolical ordinance; yet, here also it must be considered how it was in the practice of the Primitive Church; for those men that call the bishop a pope are themselves desirous to make a conclave of cardinals too, and to make every diocese a Roman consistory.

1. Then the first thing we hear of presbyters (after Scripture, I mean, for of it I have already given account) is from the testimony of St. Jerome:[a] "Antequam studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, &c. communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur:—Before factions arose in the Church, the Church was governed by the common council of presbyters." Here St. Jerome either means it of the time before bishops were constituted in particular churches, or after bishops were appointed. If 'before bishops were appointed,' no hurt done, the presbyters might well rule in common, before themselves had a ruler appointed to govern both them and all the diocese beside. For so St. Ignatius,[b] writing to the Church of Antioch, exhorts the presbyters to feed the flock until God should declare τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν,—"whom he would make their ruler." And St. Cyprian, speaking of Etecusa, and some other women that had made defailance in time of persecution, and so were put to penance, "præceperunt eas præpositi tantisper sic esse, donec episcopus constituatur:" The presbyters, whom 'sede vacante' he, 'præter morem suum,' calls 'præpositos,' they gave order that "they should so remain till the consecration of a bishop." But if St. Jerome means this saying of his 'after bishops were fixed,' then his expression answers the allegation, for it was but "communi consilio presbyterorum," the judicium might be solely in the bishop; he was the judge, though the presbyters were the counsellors. For so himself adds, that "upon occasion of those first schisms in Corinth, it was decreed in all the world, 'ut omnis ecclesiæ cura ad unum pertineret,' all the care of the diocese was in the bishop," and, therefore, all the power; for it was unimaginable that the burden should be laid on the bishop, and the strength put into the hands of the presbyters. And so St. Ignatius styles them σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου,—"assessors

[a] In Epist. ad Titum, c. i. [b] Epist. ad Antioch. Epist. 21.

and counsellors to the bishop." But yet, if we take our estimate from Ignatius, "the bishop is the ruler; without him, though all concurred, yet nothing could be done, nothing attempted; the bishop was superior in all power and authority; he was to be obeyed in all things, and contradicted in nothing; the bishop's judgment was to sway, and nothing must seem pleasing to the presbyters that was cross to the bishop's sentence:" this, and a great deal more, which I have formerly made use of, is in Ignatius;[c] and now let their assistance and counsel extend as far as it will, the bishop's authority is invulnerable. But I have already enough discussed this instance of St. Jerome's section; thither I refer the reader.

2. But St. Cyprian must do this business for us, if any man; for of all the bishops, he did acts of the greatest condescension and seeming declination of episcopal authority. But let us see the worst. "Ad id verò, quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri, solus rescribere nihil potui, quando à primordio episcopatûs mei statuerim nihil, sine consilio vestro et sine consensu plebis meæ, privatâ sententiâ gerere."[d] And again, "Quamvis mihi videantur debere pacem accipere, tamen ad consultum vestrum eos dimisi, ne videar aliquid temerè præsumere."[e] And a third time, "Quæ res cùm omnium nostrum consilium et sententiam spectat, præjudicare ego et soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo."[f] These are the greatest steps of episcopal humility that I find 'in materiâ juridicâ;' the sum whereof is this, that St. Cyprian did consult his presbyters and clergy in matters of consequence, and resolved to do nothing without their advice. But then, consider also it was "statui apud me,—I have resolved with myself," to do nothing without your counsel. It was no necessity 'ab extrà,' no duty, no sanction of Holy Church, that bound him to such a modesty; it was his own voluntary act. 2. It was as well 'diaconorum,' as 'presbyterorum consilium,' that he would have in conjunction, as appears by the titles of the sixth and eighteenth epistles: "Cyprianus presbyteris, ac diaconis fratribus, salutem:" so that here the presbyters can no more challenge

[c] Ad Trallian. Ad Magnes.
[d] Epist. 6.
[e] Epist. 19.
[f] Epist. 18.

a power of regiment in common, than the deacons, by any Divine law or catholic practice. 3. St. Cyprian, also, would actually have the consent of the people, too; and that will as well disturb the 'jus Divinum' of an independent presbytery, as of an independent episcopacy.

But, indeed, neither of them both need to be much troubled; for all this was voluntary in St. Cyprian, like Moses, "qui cùm in potestate suâ habuit, ut solus possit præesse populo, seniores elegit" (to use St. Jerome's[g] expression);—"who, when it was in his power alone to rule the people, yet chose seventy elders for assistants:" for, as for St. Cyprian, this very epistle clears it, that no part of his episcopal authority was impaired; for he shews what himself alone could do: "Fretus igitur dilectione vestrâ, et religione, quam satis novi, his literis et hortor et mando," &c.;—"I entreat and command you:" "Vice meâ fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit;—Be my substitutes in the administration of church affairs." He entreats them, 'pro dilectione,—because they loved him;' he commands them, 'pro religione,—by their religion;' for it was a piece of their religion to obey him, and in him was the government of his church; else, how could he have put the presbyters and deacons in substitution?

Add to this, it was the custom of the Church, that although the bishop did only impose hands in the ordination of clerks, yet the clergy did approve and examine the persons to be ordained; and it being a thing of public interest, it was then not thought fit to be a personal action, both in preparation and ministration too; and for this St. Chrysostom was accused, 'in concilio nefario,' as the title of the edition of it expresses it,[h] that he made ordinations ἄνευ συνεδρίου καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ κλήρου· yet when St. Cyprian saw occasion for it, he did ordain without the consent of the clergy of his church; for so he ordained Celerinus; so he ordained Optatus and Saturnus, when himself was from his church, and in great want of clergymen to assist in the ministration of the daily offices. He did as much in jurisdiction, too, and censures; for himself did excommunicate Felicissimus and Augendus, and Repostus, and Irene, and Paula, as appears in his thirty-

[g] In 1. ad Titum. [h] Jus Græco-Rom. p. 556.

eighth and thirty-ninth epistles; and tells Rogatianus[i] that he might have done as much to the petulant deacon that abused him, by virtue of his episcopal authority: and the same power, singly and solely, he exercised in his acts of favour and absolution: "Unus atque alius, obnitente plebe et contradicente, mea tamen facilitate suscepti sunt."[k] Indeed, here is no contradiction of the clergy expressed, but yet the absolution, said to be his own act, against the people, and without the clergy; for he alone was the judge, insomuch that he declared it was the cause of schism and heresy, that the bishop was not obeyed: "Nec unus in ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Christi, cogitatur;—and that one high-priest in a church, and judge, instead of Christ, is not admitted."[l] So that the bishop must be one, and that one must be judge,—and to acknowledge more, in St. Cyprian's Lexicon, is called schism and heresy. Further yet, this judicatory of the bishop is independent, and responsive to none but Christ: "Actum suum disponit, et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus;"[m] and again, "Habet in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus;—The bishop is lord of his own actions, and may do what seems good in his own eyes, and for his actions he is to account to Christ."[n]

This general account is sufficient to satisfy the allegations out of the sixth and eighth epistles, and, indeed, the whole question. But for the eighteenth epistle, there is something of peculiar answer; for first, it was a case of public concernment, and, therefore, he would so comply with the public interest, as to do it by public council. Secondly, "It was a necessity of times," that made this case peculiar: "Necessitas temporum facit, ut non temerè pacem demus;" they are the first words of the next epistle, which is of the same matter; for if the 'lapsi' had been easily, and without a public and solemn trial, reconciled, it would have made Gentile sacrifices frequent, and martyrdom but seldom. Thirdly, the common council, which St. Cyprian here said he would expect, was the council of the confessors, to whom,

[i] Epist. 65. [k] Epist. 55. [l] Ibidem.
[m] Epist. 52. [n] Epist. 72.

for a peculiar honour, it was indulged, that they should be interested in the public assoiling of such penitents, who were overcome with those fears which the confessors had overcome: so that this is evidently an act of positive and temporary discipline; and as it is no disadvantage to the power of the bishop, so, to be sure, no advantage to the presbyter. But the clause of objection, from the nineteenth epistle, is yet unanswered, and that runs something higher, "tamen ad consultum vestrum eos dimisi, ne videar aliquid temerè præsumere." It is called 'presumption' to reconcile the penitents without the advice of those to whom he writ; but from this we are fairly delivered by the title: "Cypriano, et compresbyteris Carthagine consistentibus; Caldonius salutem." It was not the epistle of Cyprian to his presbyters, but of Caldonius, one of the suffragan bishops of Numidia, to his metropolitan; and now, what wonder if he call it presumption to do an act of so public consequence, without the advice of his metropolitan. He was bound to consult him by the canons apostolical, and so he did, and no harm done to the present question, of the bishop's sole and independent power, and unmixed with the conjunct interest of the presbytery, who had nothing to do beyond ministry, counsel, and assistance.

3. In all churches where a bishop's seat was, there were not always a college of presbyters, but only in the greatest churches; for some time in the lesser cities there were but two: "Esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus;" so St. Ambrose:[o] "sometimes there was but one in a church." Posthumianus, in the third Council of Carthage, put the case: "Deinde qui unum presbyterum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri?" The Church of Hippo had but one; Valerius was the bishop, and Austin was the priest; and, after him, Austin was the bishop, and Eradius the priest. Sometimes not one, as in the case Aurelius put in the same council now cited, of a church that hath never a presbyter to be consecrated bishop, in the place of him that died; and once, at Hippo, they had none, even then when the people snatched St. Austin, and carried him to Valerius to be ordained: in these cases I hope it will not be denied but the

[o] In 1 Tim. iii.

bishop was judge alone: I am sure he had but little company, sometimes none at all.

4. But suppose it had been always done, that presbyters were consulted in matters of great difficulty and possibility of scandal, for so St. Ambrose[p] intimates, "Ecclesia seniores habuit, sine quorum consilio nihil gerebatur in ecclesiâ," understand in these churches where presbyters were fixed; yet this might be necessary, and was so, indeed, in some degree at first, which in succession, as it proved troublesome to the presbyters, so unnecessary and impertinent to the bishops. At first, I say, it might be necessary, for they were times of persecutions and temptation; and if both the clergy and people, too, were not complied withal in such exigence of time, and agonies of spirit, it was the way to make them relapse to gentilism; for a discontented spirit will hide itself, and take sanctuary in the reeds and mud of Nilus, rather than not take complacence in an imaginary security and revenge. Secondly: As yet there had been scarce any synods to determine cases of public difficulty; and what they could not receive from public decision, it was fitting they should supply by the maturity of a conciliary assistance and deliberation: for although, by the canons of the Apostles, bishops were bound twice a-year to celebrate synods, yet, persecution intervening, they were rather twice a-year a διασπορὰ than συνοδὸς,—"a dispersion than a synod." Thirdly: Although synods had been as frequently convened as was intended by the apostles, yet it must be length of time, and a successive experience, that must give opportunity and ability to give general rules for the emergency of all particulars; and, therefore, till the Church grew of some considerable age, a fixed standing college of presbyters was more requisite than since it hath been, when the frequency of general councils, and provincial synods, and the peace of the Church, and the innumerable volumes of the fathers, and decretals of bishops, and a digest of ecclesiastical constitutions, hath made the personal assistance of presbyters unnecessary. 4. When necessity required not their presence and counsel, their own necessity required that they should attend their several cures. For let it be considered, they that would now have a college

[p] 1 Tim. i.

of presbyters assist the bishop, whether they think of what follows; for either they must have presbyters ordained without a title, which I am sure they have complained of these threescore years, or else they must be forced to non-residence; for how else can they assist the bishop in the ordinary and daily occurrences of the church, unless either they have no cure of their own, or else neglect it? And as for the extraordinary, either the bishop is to consult his metropolitan, or he may be assisted by a synod, if the canons already constituted do not aid him; but in all these cases the presbyter is impertinent.

5. As this assistance of presbyters was at first for necessity, and after by custom it grew a law; so now, 'retrò,' first the necessity failed, and then the desuetude abrogated the law, which before custom had established: "Quod quâ negligentiâ obsoleverit nescio," saith St. Ambrose:[q] "he knew not how it came to be obsolete," but so it was; it had expired before his time: not but that presbyters were still in mother churches (I mean in great ones); "In ecclesiâ enim habemus senatum nostrum, actum presbyterorum;—We have still," saith St. Jerome,[r] "in the Church, our senate, a college, or chapter of presbyters;" he was then at Rome or Jerusalem: but they were not consulted in church affairs, and matter of jurisdiction; that was it that St. Ambrose wondered how it came to pass: and thus it is to this day. In our mother churches we have a chapter, too, but the bishop consults them not in matters of ordinary jurisdiction; just so it was in St. Ambrose's time; and, therefore, our bishops have altered no custom in this particular; the alteration was pregnant, even before the end of the four general councils, and therefore, is no violation of a Divine right; for then, most certainly, a contrary provision would have been made in those conventions, wherein so much sanctity, and authority, and catholicism, and severe discipline, were conjunct; and then, besides, it is no innovation in practice which pretends so fair antiquity; but, however, it was never otherwise than voluntary in the bishops, and positive discipline in the Church, and convenience in the thing for that present, and counsel in the presbyters, and a trouble to the presbyters' persons, and

[q] Ubi suprà. [r] In Isa. iii.

a disturbance of their duties, when they came to be fixed upon a particular charge.

One thing more before I leave: I find a canon of the Council of Hispalis[s] objected: "Episcopus presbyteris solus honorem dare potest, solus autem auferre non potest."—A bishop may alone ordain a priest; a bishop may not alone depose a priest." Therefore, in censures, there was in the Primitive Church a necessity of conjunction of presbyters with the bishop in imposition of censures.

To this I answer, first, it is evident that he that can give an honour, can also take it away, if any body can; for there is in the nature of the thing no greater difficulty in pulling down than in raising up. It was wont always to be accounted easier; therefore this canon, requiring a conjunct power in deposing presbyters, is a positive constitution of the Church, founded, indeed, upon good institution, but built upon no deeper foundation, neither of nature or higher institution, than its own present authority.

But that is enough, for we are not now in question of Divine right, but of catholic and primitive practice. To it, therefore, I answer, that the conjunct hand—requited to pull down a presbyter—was not the chapter, or college of presbyters; but a company of bishops, a synodal sentence, and determination; for so the canon runs, "qui profecto nec ab uno damnari nec uno judicante poterunt honoris sui privilegiis exui: sed præsentati synodali judicio, quod canon de illis præceperit definiri." And the same thing was determined in the Greeks' Council of Carthage.[t] "If a presbyter or a deacon be accused, their own bishop shall judge them, not alone, but with the assistance of six bishops more, in the case of a presbyter; three of a deacon; τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν κληρικῶν τὰς αἰτίας καὶ μόνος ὁ ἐντόπιος ἐπίσκοπος διαγνῶ καὶ περατώσῃ· but the causes of the other clergy, the bishop of the place must alone "hear and determine them." So that, by this canon, in some things, the bishop might not be alone; but then his assistants were bishops, not presbyters: in other things he alone was judge, without either; and yet his sentences must not be clancular, but in open court, in the full chapter, for his presbyters must be present; and so it is

[s] Can. 6. [t] Can. 20.

determined for Africa, in the fourth Council of Carthage:[a] "Ut episcopus nullius causam audiat absque præsentiâ clericorum suorum: alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi nisi præsentiâ clericorum confirmetur." Here is, indeed, a necessity of the presence of the clergy of his church, where his consistory was kept, lest the sentence should be clandestine, and so illegal; but it is nothing but "præsentia clericorum," for it is "sententia episcopi,—the bishop's sentence," and the clerk's presence only; for μόνος ὁ ἐντόπιος ἐπίσκοπος,—"the bishops alone might give sentence," in the causes of the inferior clergy, even by this canon itself, which is used for objection against the bishop's sole jurisdiction.

I know nothing now to hinder our process; for the bishop's jurisdiction is clearly left in his own hand, and the presbyters had no share in it, but by delegation and voluntary assumption. Now I proceed in the main question.

SECTION XLV.

So that the Government of the Church by Bishops was believed necessary.

We have seen what episcopacy is in itself; now, from the same principles let us see what it is to us; and, first, antiquity taught us it was simply necessary, even to the being and constitution of a church: that runs high, but we must follow our leaders. St. Ignatius[a] is express in this question; "Qui intra altare est, mundus est, quare et obtemperat episcopo et sacerdotibus. Qui vero foris est, hic is est, qui sine episcopo, sacerdote, et diacono, quicquam agit, et ejusmodi inquinatam habet conscientiam, et infideli deterior est:—He that is within the altar, that is, within the communion of the church, he is pure, for he obeys the bishop and the priests. But he that is without, that is, does any thing without his bishop and the clergy, he hath a filthy conscience, and is worse than an infidel." "Necesse itaque est, quicquid facitis, ut sine episcopo nihil faciatis;—It is necessary, that whatever ye do, ye be sure to do nothing without

[a] Can. 23. [a] Epist. ad Tral.

the bishop." "Quid enim aliud est episcopus," &c.;—"For what else is a bishop but he that is greater than all power?" So that the obeying the bishop is the necessary condition of a Christian and catholic communion; he that does not is worse than an infidel. The same also he affirms again:[b] "Quotquot enim Christi, sunt partium episcopi; qui vero ab illo declinant, et cum maledictis communionem amplectuntur, hi cum illis excidentur:—All they that are on Christ's side, are on the bishop's side; but they that communicate with accursed schismatics, shall be cut off with them." If, then, we will be Christ's servants, we must be obedient and subordinate to the bishop. It is the condition of Christianity. We are not Christians else. So is the intimation of St. Ignatius.[c] As full and pertinent is the peremptory resolution of St. Cyprian, in that admirable epistle of his 'ad Lapsos;' where, after he had spoken how Christ instituted the honour of episcopacy, in concrediting the keys to St. Peter and the other apostles, "Inde," saith he, "per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur:—Hence is it, that by several successions of bishops the Church is continued, so that the Church hath its being or constitution by bishops, and every act of ecclesiastical regiment is to be disposed by them." "Cùm hoc itaque Divinâ lege fundatum sit, miror," &c.;—"Since, therefore, this is so established by the law of God, I wonder any man should question it," &c. And, therefore, as in all buildings, the foundation being gone, the fabric falls, so "if ye take away bishops, the Church must ask a writing of divorce from God, for it can no longer be called a Church." This account we have from St. Cyprian, and he reinforces again upon the same charge, in his epistle 'ad Florentium Pupianum,'[d] where he makes a bishop to be ingredient into the definition of a church: "Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens;—The Church is a flock adhering to its pastor, and a people united to their bishop:" for that so he means by 'sacerdos,' appears in the words subjoined: "Unde et scire debes, episcopum in ecclesia esse, et ecclesiam in

[b] Epist. ad Philadelph. [c] Epist. 27. et alibi. [d] Epist. 69.

episcopo, et si qui cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse, et frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, et latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt," &c.;—"As a bishop is in the Church, so the Church is in the bishop; and he that does not communicate with the bishop, is not in the Church: and, therefore, they vainly flatter themselves, that think their case fair and good, if they communicate in conventicles, and forsake their bishop."

And for this cause, the holy primitives were so confident and zealous for a bishop, that they would rather expose themselves and all their tribes to a persecution, than to the greater misery, the want of bishops. Fulgentius tells an excellent story to this purpose.[e] When Frasamund, king of Byzac, in Africa, had made an edict that no more bishops should be consecrate, to this purpose, that the catholic faith might expire (so he was sure it would, if this device were perfected), "ut arescentibus truncis absque palmitibus omnes ecclesiæ desolarentur," the good bishops of the province met together in a council, and having considered of the command of the tyrant, "Sacra turba pontificum qui remanserant, communicato inter se consilio, definierunt adversus præceptum regis in omnibus locis celebrare ordinationes pontificum, cogitantes aut regis iracundiam, si qua forsan existeret, mitigandam, quo facilius ordinati in suis plebibus viverent, aut si persecutionis violentia nasceretur, coronandos etiam fidei confessione, quos dignos inveniebant promotione." It was full of bravery and Christian sprite. "The bishops resolved, for all the edict against new ordination of bishops, to obey God rather than man, and to consecrate bishops in all places, hoping the king would be appeased; or if not, yet those whom they thought worthy of a mitre, were in a fair disposition to receive a crown of martyrdom." They did so. "Fit repente communis assumptio," and they all strove who should be first, and thought a blessing would outstrip the hindmost. They were sure they might go to heaven, though persecuted, under the conduct of a bishop; they knew, without him, the ordinary passage was obstructed.

[e] Vide Concil. Byzacenum, A.D. 504, et Surium, die 1 Januar. et Baron. in A.D. 504.

Pius the First, bishop of Rome and martyr, speaking of them that calumniate and disgrace their bishops,[f] endeavouring to make them infamous, "They add," saith he, "evil to evil, and grow worse," "non intelligentes quòd ecclesia Dei in sacerdotibus consistit, et crescit in templum Dei;—not considering that the Church of God doth consist or is established in bishops, and grows up to a holy temple." To him I am most willing to add St. Jerome,[g] because he is often obtruded in defiance of the cause: "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet;—The safety of the Church depends upon the bishop's dignity."

SECTION XLVI.

For they are Schismatics, that separate from their Bishop.

THE reason which St. Jerome gives, presses this business to a further particular. "For if an eminent dignity, and an unmatchable power, be not given to him," "tot efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes." So that he makes bishops therefore necessary, because without them 'the unity of a church cannot be preserved;' and we know that unity, and being, are of equal extent; and if the unity of the Church depends upon the bishop, then where there is no bishop, no pretence to a church; and therefore to separate from the bishop makes a man at least a schismatic. For unity, which the fathers press so often, they make to be dependent on the bishop. "Nihil sit in vobis quod possit vos dirimere, sed unimini episcopo, subjecti Deo per illum in Christo," saith St. Ignatius:[a] "Let nothing divide you, but be united to your bishop, being subject to God in Christ through your bishop." And it is his congé to the people of Smyrna, to whom he writ in his epistle to Polycarpus,[b] "Opto vos semper valere in Deo nostro Jesu Christo, in quo manete per unitatem Dei et episcopi;—Farewell in Christ Jesus, in whom remain by the unity of God and of the bishop." "Quantò vos beatiores judico, qui dependetis ab illo

[f] Epist. 2.
[g] Advers. Lucifer. cap. iv.
[a] Epist. ad Magnes.
[b] Ad. Ephes.

(episcopo), ut ecclesia à Domino Jesu et Dominus à Patre suo, ut omnia per unitatem consentiant:—Blessed people are ye that depend upon your bishop, as the Church on Christ, and Christ on God, that all things may consent in unity."

"Neque enim aliundè hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quàm inde quòd sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur:—Hence come schisms, hence spring heresies, that the bishop is not obeyed, and admitted alone to be the high-priest, alone to be the judge."[c] The same St. Cyprian repeats again;[d] and by it we may see his meaning clearer: "Qui vos audit, me audit," &c. "Inde enim hæreses et schismata oborta sunt et oriuntur, dum episcopus, qui unus est et ecclesiæ præest, superbâ quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus hominibus judicatur." The pride and peevish haughtiness of some factious people that contemn their bishops, is the cause of all heresy and schism. And, therefore, it was so strictly forbidden, by the ancient canons, that any man should have any meetings, or erect an altar, out of the communion of his bishop,—that if any man proved delinquent in this particular, he was punished with the highest censures, as appears in the thirty-second canon of the Apostles, in the sixth canon of the Council of Gangra, the fifth canon of the Council of Antioch, and the great Council of Chalcedon,[e] all which I have before cited. The sum is this: The bishop is the band and ligature of the Church's unity; and separation from the bishop is διχονοίας σύμβολον, as Theodoret's expression is,—"a symbol of faction;" and he that separates is a schismatic.

But how if the bishop himself be a heretic or schismatic? May we not then separate? Yes, if he be judged so by a synod of bishops; but then he is sure to be deposed too; and then, in these cases, no separation from a bishop. For till he be declared so, his communion is not to be forsaken by the subjects of his diocese, lest they, by so doing, become their judge's judge; and when he is declared so, no need of withdrawing from obedience to the bishop, for the heretic or schismatic must be no longer bishop. But let the case be

[c] St. Cyprian. Ep. 55. [d] Epist. 69. [e] Act. iv.

what it will be, no separation from a bishop, 'ut sic,' can be lawful; and yet if there were a thousand cases, in which it were lawful to separate from a bishop, yet in no case is it lawful to separate from episcopacy; that is the quintessence and spirit of schism, and a direct overthrow to Christianity, and a confronting of a Divine institution.

SECTION XLVII.

And Heretics.

But is it not also heresy? Aerius was condemned for heresy by the catholic Church. The heresy from whence the Aerians were denominated was, "sermo furiosus magis quàm humanæ conditionis, et dicebat, 'Quid est episcopus ad presbyterum? nihil differt hic ab illo;'[a]—A mad and unmanly heresy to say, that a bishop and a priest are all one." So Epiphanius: "Assumpsit autem ecclesia, et in toto mundo assensus factus est, antequam esset Aerius, et qui ab ipso appellantur Aeriani." And the good catholic father is so angry at the heretic Aerius, that he thinks his name was given him by Providence, and he is called Aerius, 'aeriis spiritibus pravitatis;' for he was possessed with an unclean spirit: he could never have else been the inventor of such heretical pravity. St. Austin, also, reckons him in the accursed roll of heretics, and adds, at the conclusion of his catalogue, 'that he is no catholic Christian that assents to any of the foregoing doctrines;' amongst which, this is one of the principal. Philastrius does as much for him.

But against this it will be objected, first, that heresies, in the primitive catalogues, are of a large extent; and every dissent from a public opinion was esteemed heresy. Secondly, Aerius was called heretic, for denying prayer for the dead. And why may he not be as blameless in equalling a bishop and a presbyter, as in that other, for which he also is condemned by Epiphanius and St. Austin. Thirdly, he was never condemned by any council; and how, then, can he be called heretic?

[a] Hæres. 75.

I answer,—That dissent from a public or a received opinion was never called heresy, unless the contrary truth was indeed a part of catholic doctrine. For the fathers, many of them, did so; as St. Austin from the millenary opinion; yet none ever reckoned them in the catalogues of heretics; but such things only set them down there, which were either directly opposite to catholic belief, though 'in minoribus articulis,' or to a holy life. Secondly, It is true that Epiphanius and St. Austin reckon his denying prayer for the dead to be one of his own opinions, and heretical. But I cannot help it if they did; let him and them agree it; they are able to answer for themselves. But yet they accused him also of Arianism; and shall we therefore say, that Arianism was no heresy, because the fathers called him heretic in one particular, upon one principle? We may as well say this as deny the other. Thirdly, He was not condemned by any council. No: for his heresy was ridiculous, and a scorn to all wise men, as Epiphanius observes; and it made no long continuance, neither had it any considerable party. But yet this is certain, that Epiphanius, and Philastrius, and St. Austin, called this opinion of Aerius a heresy, and against the catholic belief. And themselves affirm that the Church did so; and then it would be considered, that it is but a sad employment to revive old heresies, and make them a piece of the new religion.

And yet after all this, if I mistake not, although Aerius himself was so inconsiderable as not to be worthy noting in a council, yet certainly the one-half of his error is condemned for heresy in one of the four general councils, viz. the first Council of Constantinople.[b] *Αἱρετικοὺς δὲ λέγομεν, τούς τε πάλαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρυχθέντας, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀναθεματισθέντας·*—"We call all them heretics, whom the ancient Church hath condemned, and whom we shall anathematize." Will not Aerius come under one of these titles for a condemned heretic? Then see forward. *Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς τὴν πίστιν μὲν τὴν ὑγιῆ προσποιουμένους ὁμολογεῖν, ἀποσχίζοντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισυνάγοντας τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις.* Here is enough for Aerius and all his hyperaspists, new and old; for the holy council condemns them 'for heretics, who do indeed confess

[b] Can. 6.

the true faith, but separate from their bishops, and make conventicles apart from his communion.' Now this I the rather urge, because an act of parliament, made tenth of Elizabeth, does make this council, and the other three, of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, the rule of judging heresies.

I end this particular with the saying of the Council of Paris against the Acephali (who were the branch of a crab-stock, and something like Aerius), cited by Burchard:[c] "Nullâ ratione clerici aut sacerdotes habendi sunt, qui sub nullius episcopi disciplinâ et providentiâ gubernantur. Tales enim Acephalos, id est, sine capite, priscæ ecclesiæ consuetudo nuncupavit;—They are, by no means, to be accounted clergymen, or priests, that will not be governed by a bishop. For such men the Primitive Church called ἀκεφάλους, that is, 'headless,' witless people."

This only. Acephali was the title of a sect, a formal heresy, and condemned by the ancient Church, say the fathers of the Council of Paris. Now, if we can learn exactly what they were, it may, perhaps, be another conviction for the necessity of episcopal regiment. Nicephorus[d] can best inform us. "Eodem tempore, et Acephali, quorum dux Severus Antiochenus fuit," &c.;—"Severus of Antioch was the first broacher of this heresy." But why were they called 'Acephali?' "id est, *sine capite*, quem sequuntur hæretici; nullus enim eorum reperitur auctor, à quo exorti sunt," saith Isidore. But this cannot be, for their head is known; Severus was their heresiarch. But then why are they called 'Acephali?' Nicephorus[e] gives this reason, and, withal, a very particular account of their heresy: "Acephali autem ob eam causam dicti sunt, quod sub episcopis non fuerunt;—They refused to live under bishops." Thence they had their name; what was their heresy? They denied the distinction of natures in Christ. That was one of their heresies; but they had more; for they were "trium capitulorum in Chalcedone impugnatores," saith Isidore;[f]—'they opposed three canons of the Council of Chalcedon.' One we have heard; what their other heresies were, we do not so well know; but by the canon of the Council of Paris, and the intimation of their name, we are

[c] Decret. lib. ii. c. 226.
[d] Eccles. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 45.
[e] Etymol. lib. viii.
[f] Ut suprà.

guided to the knowledge of a second: they refused to live under the government of a bishop. And this also was "impugnatio unius articuli in Chalcedone;" for the eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon commands that the clergy should be under episcopal government. But these Acephali would not, they were anti-episcopal men; and, therefore, they were condemned heretics; condemned in the Councils of Paris, of Seville, and of Chalcedon.

But the more particular account that Nicephorus gives of them, I will now insert, because it is of great use. "Proinde episcopis, et sacerdotibus apud eos defunctis, neque baptismus juxta solennem atque receptum ecclesiæ morem apud eos administratur, neque oblatio, aut res aliqua divina facta, ministeriumve ecclesiasticum, sicuti mos est, celebratum est. Communionem verò illi, à plurimo tempore asservatam habentes, feriis Paschalibus, in minutissimas incisam partes convenientibus ad se hominibus dederunt. Quo tempore quam quisque voluisset placitam sibi sumebat potestatem. Et propterea quod quilibet, quodcunque visum esset, fidei insertum volebat, quamplurima defectorum, atque hæreticorum turba exorta est." It is a story worthy of observation, 'When any bishop died, they would have no other consecrated in succession; and, therefore, could have no more priests, when any of them died.' But how then did they to baptize their children? Why, they were fain to make shift, and do it without any church solemnity. But how did they for the Holy Sacrament?—for that could not be consecrated without a priest, and he not ordained without a bishop. True: but therefore 'they, while they had a bishop, got a great deal of bread consecrated, and kept a long time; and when Easter came, cut it into small bits, or crumbs rather, to make it go the further, and gave it to their people.' And must we do so too? God forbid. But how did they when all that was gone? for crumbs would not last always. The story specifies it not, but yet I suppose they then got a bishop for their necessity, to help them to some more priests, and some more crumbs; for I find, in the Council of Seville,[s] the fathers saying, "Ingressus est ad nos quidam ex hæresi Acephalorum episcopus;" they had then, it seems, got a

[s] Can. 12.

bishop, but this they would seldom have, and never, but when their necessity drove them to it. But was this all the inconvenience of the want of bishops? No: "for every man," saith Nicephorus, "might do what he list, and if he had a mind to it, might put his fancy into the creed, and thence came innumerable troops of schismatics and heretics." So that this device was one simple heresy in the root, but it was forty heresies in the fruit and branches; clearly proving, that want of bishops is the cause of all schism and recreant opinions that are imaginable.

I sum this up with the saying of St. Clement,[h] the disciple of St. Peter, "Si autem vobis episcopis non obedierint omnes presbyteri, &c. tribus, et linguæ non obtemperaverint, non solùm infames, sed extorres à regno Dei, et consortio fidelium, ac à limitibus sancti Dei ecclesiæ alieni erunt;—All priests, and clergymen, and people, and nations, and languages, that do not obey their bishop, shall be shut forth of the communion of holy Church here, and of heaven hereafter." It runs high, but I cannot help it; I do but translate Ruffinus, as he before translated St. Clement.

SECTION XLVIII.

And Bishops were always, in the Church, Men of great Honour.

It seems, then, we must have bishops. But must we have lord bishops too? That is the question now, but such a one as the primitive piety could never have imagined. For, could they, to whom bishops were placed in a right and a true light,—they who believed, and saw them to be the fathers of their souls, the guardian of their life and manners (as King Edgar called St. Dunstan), the guide of their consciences, the instruments and conveyances of all the blessings Heaven uses to pour upon us by the ministration of the holy Gospel; would they, that thought their lives a cheap exchange for a free and open communion with a catholic bishop, would they have contested, upon an airy title, and the imaginary privilege of an honour, which is far less than their

[h] Epist. 3.

spiritual dignity, but infinitely less than the burden and charge of the souls of all their diocese? Charity thinks nothing too much, and that love is but little, that grutches at the good words a bishoprick carries with it.

However, let us see whether titles of honour be either unfit, in themselves, to be given to bishops; or what the guise of Christendom hath been in her spiritual heraldry.

1. St. Ignatius, in his epistle to the Church of Smyrna, gives them this command: "Honora episcopum ut principem sacerdotum, imaginem Dei referentem;—Honour the bishop as the image of God, as the prince of priests." Now, since honour and excellence are terms of mutual relation, and all excellence that is in men and things, is but a ray of Divine excellence; so far as they participate of God, so far they are honourable. Since, then, the bishop carries the impress of God upon his forehead, and bears God's image, certainly this participation of such perfection makes him very honourable. And since 'honor est in honorante,' it is not enough that the bishop is honourable in himself, but it tells us our duty, we must honour him, we must do him honour; and, of all the honours in the world, that of words is the cheapest and the least.

St. Paul, speaking of the honour due to the prelates of the Church, *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώσθωσαν*· —"Let them be accounted worthy of double honour." And one of the honours that he there means is a costly one, an honour of maintenance; the other must certainly be an honour of estimate, and that is cheapest. The Council of Sardis, speaking of the several steps and capacities of promotion, to the height of episcopacy, uses this expression: *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιος τῆς θείας ἱεροσύνης νομισθείς, τῆς μεγίστης ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς*·[a]—"He that shall be found worthy of so Divine a priesthood, let him be advanced to the highest honour." "Ego procidens ad pedes ejus rogabam, excusans me, et declinans honorem cathedræ et potestatem,"[b] saith St. Clement, when St. Peter would have advanced him to the honour and power of the bishop's chair. But, in the third epistle, speaking of the dignity of Aaron, the high-priest, and then, by analogy, of the bishop, who, although he be a minister in

[a] Can. 10. Græc. [b] Epist. 1. ad Jacobum.

the order of Melchisedech, yet he hath also the honour of Aaron; "Omnis enim pontifex sacro chrismate perunctus, et in civitate constitutus, et in Scripturis Sacris conditus, carus et pretiosus hominibus oppidò esse debet;—Every high-priest ordained in the city (viz. a bishop), ought forthwith to be dear and precious in the eyes of men." "Quem, quasi Christi locum tenentem, honorare omnes debent, eique servire, et obedientes ad salutem suam fideliter existere, scientes quòd sive honor, sive injuria quæ ei defertur, in Christum redundat, et à Christo in Deum;—The bishop is Christ's vicegerent, and, therefore, he is to be obeyed, knowing that whether it be honour or injury that is done to the bishop, it is done to Christ, and so to God." And, indeed, what is the saying of our blessed Saviour himself? "He that despiseth you, despiseth me." If bishops be God's ministers, and in higher order than the rest, then, although all discountenance and disgrace done to the clergy reflect upon Christ, yet, what is done to the bishop is far more, and then there is the same reason of the honour. And if so, then the question will prove but an odd one; even this, whether Christ be to be honoured or no, or depressed to the common estimate of vulgar people? for if the bishops be, then he is. This is the condition of the question.

2. Consider we, that all religions, and particularly all Christianity, did give titles of honour to their high-priests and bishops respectively. I shall not need to instance in the great honour of the priestly tribe among the Jews, and how highly honourable Aaron was in proportion. Prophets were called 'lords' in Holy Scripture. "Art not thou 'my lord' Elijah?" said Obadiah to the prophet. "Knowest thou not that God will take 'thy lord' from thy head this day?" said the children in the prophets' schools. So it was then. And, in the New Testament, we find a prophet honoured every where but in his own country. And to the apostles and presidents of churches greater titles of honour given, than was ever given to man by secular complacency and insinuation:—Angels, and governors, and fathers of our faith, and stars, lights of the world, the crown of the Church, apostles of Jesus Christ, nay, God's,[e] viz. to whom the word

[e] Apocal. i. 1 Cor. iv. John, x.

of God came; and of the compellation of apostles, particularly St. Jerome saith, that when St. Paul called himself the "apostle of Jesus Christ," it was as magnifically spoken, as if he had said, "Præfectus prætorio Augusti Cæsaris, magister exercitus Tiberii Imperatoris;"[d] and yet bishops are apostles, and so called in Scripture. I have proved that already.

Indeed, our blessed Saviour, in the case of the two sons of Zebedee, forbade them to expect, by virtue of their apostolate, any princely titles, in order to a kingdom and an earthly principality. For that was it which the ambitious woman sought for her sons, viz. fair honour and dignity in an earthly kingdom; for such a kingdom they expected with their Messias. To this their expectation, our Saviour's answer is a direct antithesis; and that made the apostles to be angry at the two petitioners, as if they had meant to supplant the rest, and get the best preferment from them, to wit, in a temporal kingdom. 'No,' saith our blessed Saviour, 'ye are all deceived.' "The kings of the nations, indeed, do exercise authority, and are called εὐεργέται,—*benefactors:*" so the word signifies: 'gracious lords,' so we read it; "but it shall not be so with you."[e] What shall not be so with them? shall not they exercise authority? "Who then is that faithful and wise steward whom his Lord made ruler over his household?" Surely the apostles, or nobody. Had Christ authority? Most certainly. Then so had the apostles, for Christ gave them his, with a 'sicut misit me Pater,' &c. Well! the apostles might, and we know they did exercise authority. What, then, 'shall not be so with them?' Shall not they be called εὐεργέται? Indeed, if St. Mark had taken that title upon him in Alexandria, the Ptolemies, whose honorary appellative that was, would have questioned him highly for it. But, if we go to the sense of the word, the apostles might be 'benefactors,' and, therefore, might be called so. But, what then? Might they not be called 'gracious lords?' The word would have done no hurt, if it had not been an ensign of a secular principality.

For, as for the word 'lord,' I know no more prohibition for that, than for being called rabbi, or master, or doctor, or

[d] In Titum. [e] Matth. xx. 25. Mark, x. 42. Luke, xxii. 25.

father.[f] What shall we think now? May we not be called doctors? "God hath constituted in his Church pastors and doctors," saith St. Paul.[g] Therefore, we may be called so. But what of the other, the prohibition runs alike for all, as is evident in the several places of the Gospels; and may no man be called master or father? Let an answer be thought on for these, and the same will serve for the other also, without any sensible error. It is not the word, it is the ambitious seeking of a temporal principality, as the issue of Christianity, and an affix of the apostolate, that Christ interdicted his apostles. And if we mark it, our blessed Saviour points it out himself. "The princes of the nations" *κατακυριεύουσιν*,—"exercise authority over them, and are called benefactors;" *οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν*:—"It shall not be so with you." Not so? how? Not as the princes of the Gentiles, for theirs is a temporal regiment; your apostolate must be spiritual. They rule as kings, you as fellow-servants; *καὶ ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἔστω ὑμῶν δοῦλος*·—"He that will be first amongst you, let him be your minister, or servant." It seems, then, among Christ's disciples, there may be a superiority, when there is a minister or servant? But it must be *ἐν τῷ διακονεῖν* that this greatness doth consist, it must be in 'doing the greatest service and ministration that the superiority consists.' But more particularly, it must be *ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. It must not be 'as the princes of the Gentiles,' but it must be 'as the son of man;' so Christ says expressly.[h] And how was that? why, 'he came to minister and to serve,' and yet in the lowest act of his humility, the washing his disciples' feet, he told them, "Ye call me Lord and Master, and ye say well, for so I am."[i] It may be 'so with you.' Nay, it must be 'as the son of man;' but then, the being called rabbi, or lord, nay, the being lord 'in spirituali magisterio et regimine,—in a spiritual superintendency,' and *ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, may stand with the humility of the Gospel, and office of ministration.

So that now I shall not need to take advantage of the word[k] *κατακυριεύουσιν*, which signifies to rule with more than a political regiment, even with an absolute and despotic, and is

[f] Matth. xxiii. 8–10. [g] Ephes. iv. [h] Luke, xxii.
[i] John, xiii. [k] In locis ubi suprà.

so used in Holy Scripture, viz. 'in sequiorem partem.' God gave authority to man over the creatures; *κατακυριεύσατε* is the word in the Septuagint;[l] and we know the power that man hath over beasts is to kill, and to keep alive. And thus to our blessed Saviour, the power that God gave him over his enemies, is expressed by *κατακυριεύειν· κατακυρίευε ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου.*[m] And this we know how it must be exercised, *ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* with a rod of iron, *ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς.* He shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.[n] That is *κατακυριεύειν*, but 'it shall not be so with you.'

But let this be as true as it will. The answer needs no way to rely upon a criticism. It is clear, that the form of regiment only is distinguished, not all regiment and authority taken away. *Οὐχ οὕτως*, but *ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς*, 'Not as the kings of the Gentiles, but as the son of man;' so must your regiment be, for 'sicut misit me Pater' &c. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." It must be a government, not for your impery, but for the service of the Church. So that it is not for your advancement, but the public ministry, that you are put to rule over the household. And thus the fathers express the authority and regiment of bishops. "Qui vocatur ad episcopatum, non ad principatum vocatur, sed ad servitutem totius ecclesiæ," saith Origen.[o] And St. Jerome; "Episcopi sacerdotes se esse noverint, non dominos;" and yet St. Jerome himself, writing to St. Austin, calls him, "Domine verè sancte, et suspiciende papa." "Forma apostolica hæc est, dominatio interdicitur, indicitur ministratio."[p] It is no principality that the apostles have, but it is a ministry; a ministry in chief, the officers of which ministration must govern, and we must obey. They must govern, not in a temporal regiment by virtue of their episcopacy, but in a spiritual; not for honour to the rulers, so much as for benefit and service to the subject. So St. Austin, "Nomen est operis, non honoris, ut intelligat se non esse episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse."[q] And in the fourteenth chapter of the same book, "Qui imperant serviunt iis rebus, quibus videntur imperare. Non enim

[l] Gen. i. [m] Psalm cx. [n] Psalm ii. [o] Homil. 6. in Isa.
[p] S. Bern. lib. x. de Considerat. [q] Lib. xix. de Civit. Dei, c. 39.

dominandi cupidine imperant, sed officio consulendi; nec principandi superbiâ, sed providendi misericordiâ." And all this is intimated in the prophetical visions, where the regiment of Christ is designed by the face of a man; and the empire of the world by beasts. The first is the regiment of a father, the second of a king. The first spiritual, the other secular. And of the fatherly authority it is that the prophet says, 'Instead of fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands.' This, say the fathers, is spoken of the apostles and their successors the bishops, who may be ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησιῶν, "Princes or rulers of churches," not princes of kingdoms, by virtue or challenge of their apostolate. But if this ecclesiastical rule or chiefty be interdicted, I wonder how the presidents of the presbyters, the προεστῶτες in the reformed churches will acquit themselves? How will their superiority be reconciled to the place, though it be but temporary? For is it a sin if it continues, and no sin if it lasts but for a week? Or is it lawful to sin, and domineer, and lord it over their brethren for a week together? But suppose it were, what will they say that are perpetual dictators? Calvin was perpetual president, and Beza, till Danæus came to Geneva, even for many years together. But beyond all this, how can the presbytery, which is a fixed lasting body, rule and govern in causes spiritual and consistorial, and that over all princes, and ministers, and people, and that for ever? For is it a sin in episcopacy to do so, and not in the presbytery? If it be lawful here, then Christ did not interdict it to the apostles; for who will think that a presbytery shall have leave to domineer, and (as they call it nowadays) to *lord* it over their brethren, when a college of apostles shall not be suffered to *govern?* But if the apostles may govern, then we are brought to a right understanding of our Saviour's saying to the sons of Zebedee,—and then also, their successors, the bishops, may do the same.

If I had any further need of answer or escape, it were easy to pretend that this being a particular directory to the apostles, was to expire with their persons. So St. Cyprian intimates. "Apostoli pari fuêre consortio prædíti et honoris, et dignitatis:"[r] and, indeed, this may be concluding against

[r] De Unitat. Eccles.

the supremacy of St. Peter's successors, but will be noways pertinent to impugn episcopal authority. For, 'inter se,' they might be equal, and yet superior to the presbyters and the people.

Lastly; "It shall not be so with you:" so Christ said, 'Non designando officium,' but 'sortem,' 'not their duty, but their lot;' intimating that their future condition should not be honorary, but full of trouble; not advanced, but persecuted. But I had rather insist on the first answer, in which I desire it be remembered, that I said, seeking temporal principality to be forbidden the apostles, as an appendix to the office of an apostle. For, in other capacities, bishops are as receptive of honour and temporal principalities as other men. Bishops, 'ut sic,' are not secular princes, must not seek for it; but some secular princes may be bishops, as in Germany and in other places, to this day, they are. For it is as unlawful for a bishop to have any land, as to have a country, and a single acre is no more due to the order than a province; but both these may be conjunct in the same person, though still, by virtue of Christ's precept, the functions and capacities must be distinguished; according to the saying of Synesius, Συνάστειν τὴν βασιλείαν τῇ ἱεροσύνῃ συγχλώθειν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀσύγχλωστα·—"To confound and intermix the kingdom and the priesthood, is to join things incompossible and inconsistent;" inconsistent, I say, not in person, but absolutely discrepant in function.

3. Consider we, that St. Peter, when he speaks of the duteous subordination of Sarah to her husband, Abraham, he propounds her as an example to all married women, in these words, "She obeyed Abraham, and called him lord:" why was this spoken to Christian women, but that they should do so too? And is it imaginable that such an honourable compellation as Christ allows every woman to give her husband, a mechanic, a hard-handed artisan, he would forbid to those eminent pillars of his Church, those lights of Christendom, whom he really endued with a plenitude of power for the regiment of the catholic Church. 'Credat Apella.'

4. Pastor and father are as honourable titles as any. They are honourable in Scripture. "Honour thy father," &c. Thy father, in all senses. They are also made sacred by being the appellatives of kings and bishops, and that not only in secular addresses, but even in Holy Scripture, as is

known. Add to this, ἡγούμενοι, προιστῶτες, and προϊστάμενοι, are used in Scripture for the prelates of the Church,[s] and I am certain, that duke and captain, rulers and commanders, are but just the same in English that the other are in Greek, and the least of these is as much as κύριος, or lord. And then if we consider that since Christ erected a spiritual regiment, and used words of secular honour to express it, as in the instances above, although Christ did interdict a secular principality, yet he forbade not a secular title; he used many himself.

5. The voice of the spouse, the Holy Church, hath always expressed their honourable estimate, in reverential compellations and epithets of honour, to their bishops, and have taught us so to do. Bishops were called 'principes ecclesiarum, —princes of the churches.' I had occasion to instance it, in the question of jurisdiction. Indeed, the third Council of Carthage forbade the bishop of Carthage to be called 'princeps sacerdotum,' or 'summus sacerdos,' or 'aliquid hujusmodi,' but only 'primæ sedis episcopus.' I know not what their meaning was, unless they would dictate a lesson of humility to their primate, that he might remember the principality not to be so much in his person as in the see, for he might be 'called bishop of the prime see.' But whatsoever fancy they had at Carthage, I am sure it was a guise of Christendom, not to speak of bishops 'sine præfatione honoris,—'but with honourable mention.' Τῷ κυρίῳ μακαριστάτῳ, —'To our most blessed lord:' so the letters were superscribed to Julius, bishop of Rome, from some of his brethren; in Sozomen.[t] Let no man speak untruths of me μηδὲ τῶν κυρίων τῶν ἐπισκόπων,—'Nor of my lords the bishops,' said St. Gregory Nazianzen.[u] The synodical book of the Council of Constantinople is inscribed, 'Dominis reverendissimis ac piissimis fratribus ac collegis, Damaso, Ambrosio,' &c.;—'To our most reverend lords, and holy brethren,' &c.[x] And the Council of Illyricum, sending their synodal letters to the bishops of Asia, by Bishop Elpidius, "Hæc pluribus," say they, "persequi non est visum, quòd miserimus unum ex omnibus, Dominum, et collegam nostrum Elpidium, qui cognosceret, esset ne sicut

[s] Acts, xv.; Rom. xii.; Heb. xiii.
[t] Lib. iii. c. 23.
[u] Epist. ad Greg. Nyssen.
[x] Theodoret, lib. v. c. 9.

dictum fuerat à Domino, et collegâ nostro Eustathio:"[y] "Our *lord* and brother Elpidius." "Our *lord* and brother Eustathius." The oration in the Council of Epaunum begins thus: "Quod præcipientibus tantis Dominis meis ministerium proferendi sermonis assumo," &c.;—"The prolocutor took that office on him, at the command of so many great *lords* the bishops." When the Church of Spain became catholic, and abjured the Arian heresy, King Recaredus, in the third Council of Toledo, made a speech to the bishops, "Non incognitum reor esse vobis, reverendissimi sacerdotes," &c. "Non credimus vestram latere sanctitatem," &c. "Vestra cognovit beatitudo," &c. "Venerandi patres," &c. And these often, 'Your holiness,' 'your blessedness,' 'most reverend,' 'venerable fathers:' those were the addresses the king made to the fathers of the synod. Thus it was when Spain grew catholic, but not such a speech to be found in all the Arian records. They amongst them used but little reverence to their bishops. But the instances of this kind are innumerable.[z] Nothing more ordinary in antiquity, than to speak of bishops with the titles of κύριοι τιμιώτατοι, θεοφιλέστατοι, ἁγιότατοι,—"Domine verè sancte, et suspiciende papa." So St. Jerome, a presbyter to St. Austin, a bishop.[a] "Secundùm enim honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyteria major est," saith St. Austin,[b] "Episcopacy is greater than the office and dignity of a presbyter, according to the titles of honour which the custom of the Church hath introduced." But I shall sum up these particulars in a total, which is thus expressed by St. Chrysostom; "Hæretici à diabolo honorum vocabula episcopis non dare didicerunt;—Heretics have learned of the devil not to give due titles of honour to bishops."[c] The good patriarch was surely angry when he said so. For my own part, I am confident that my lords the bishops do so undervalue any fastuous or pompous title, that were not the duty of their people in it, they would as easily reject them, as it is our duty piously to use them. But if they still desire appellatives of honour, we must give them; they are their due; if they desire them not, they deserve them much more. So that either for their humility, or,

[y] Theodoret. lib. iv. c. 9.
[z] Theodoret. lib. i. c. 4. et c. 5.
[a] Athanas. Apolog. 2.
[b] Epist. 17, 18, 19. apud S. Augustin.
[c] In Psal. xiii. apud Baron. A.D. 58. n. 2.

however, for their works' sake, we must "highly honour them that have the rule over us;" it is the precept of St. Paul;[d] and St. Cyprian, observing how curious our blessed Saviour was, that he might give honour to the priests of the Jews, even then when they were reeking in their malice, hot as the fire of hell; he did it to teach us a duty. "Docuit enim sacerdotes veros legitime et plene honorari, dum circa falsos sacerdotes ipse talis extitit."[e] It is the argument he uses to procure a full honour to the bishop.

To these I add; if sitting in a throne even above the seat of elders be a title of great dignity, then we have it confirmed by the voice of all antiquity, calling the bishop's chair a throne, and the investiture of a bishop, in his church, an enthronization. "Quando inthronizantur propter communem utilitatem episcopi," &c. saith Pope Anterus, in his decretal epistle to the bishops of Bœtica and Toledo. 'Enthroning' is the primitive word for 'the consecration' of a bishop. "Sedes in episcoporum ecclesiis excelsæ constitutæ et præparatæ, ut thronus speculationem et potestatem judicandi à Domino sibi datam materiam docent," saith Urban.[f] And St. Ignatius to his deacon Hero, *πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—ὅτι δείξει μοι ὁ Θεὸς Ἥρωνα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου*· —"I trust that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ will shew to me Hero, sitting upon my throne."[g]

The sum of all is this. Bishops, if they must be at all, most certainly must be beloved; it is our duties, and their work deserves it. St. Paul was as dear to the Galatians as their eyes, and it is true eternally, "Formosi pedes evangelizantium;—"the feet of the preachers of the Gospel are beauteous," and then much more of the chief. "Ideo ista prætulimus, carissimi, ut intelligatis potestatem episcoporum vestrorum, in eisque Deum veneremini, et eos ut animas vestras diligatis, ut quibus illi non communicant, non communicetis,"[h] &c. Now, love to our superiors is ever honourable; for it is more than 'amicitia,' that is amongst peers; but love to our betters, is reverence, obedience, and high estimate. And if we have the one, the dispute about the other would be a mere impertinence. I end this with the saying of

[d] 1 Thess. v. 13. [e] Epist. 65. [f] Epist. decret.
[g] Epist. ad Heron. [h] Urban. ibid.

St. Ignatius; "Et vos decet non contemnere ætatem episcopi, sed juxta Dei Patris arbitrium omnem illi impertiri reverentiam;[1]—It is the will of God the Father, that we should give all reverence, honour, or veneration to our bishops."

SECTION XLIX.

And trusted with Affairs of Secular Interest.

WELL! However things are now, it was otherwise in the old religion; for no honour was thought too great for them, whom God had honoured with so great degrees of approximation to himself in power and authority. But then also they went further. For they thought whom God had intrusted with their souls, they might, with an equal confidence, trust with their personal actions and employments of greatest trust.

For it was great consideration, that they who were 'antistites religionis,' the doctors, and great dictators of faith and conscience, should be the composers of those affairs, in whose determination, a Divine wisdom, and the interests of conscience, and the authority of religion, were the best ingredients.

But it is worth observing how the Church and the commonwealth did actions contrary to each other, in pursuance of their several interests. The commonwealth still enabled bishops to take cognizance of causes, and the confidence of their own people would be sure to carry them thither, where they hoped for fair issue, upon such good grounds as they might fairly expect from the bishops' abilities, authority, and religion: but, on the other side, the Church did as much decline them as she could, and made sanctions against it, so far as she might, without taking from themselves all opportunities both of doing good to their people, and engaging the secular arm to their own assistance. But this we shall see by consideration of particulars.

1. It was not, 'in naturâ rei,' unlawful for bishops to receive an office of secular employment. St. Paul's tent-making was as much against the calling of an apostle, as sitting in a

[1] Epist. ad Magnes.

secular tribunal is against the office of a bishop. And it is hard, if we will not allow that to the conveniences of a republic, which must be indulged to a private, personal necessity. But we have not St. Paul's example only, but his rule too, according to primitive exposition. "Dare any of you having a matter before another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? If, then, ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church."[a]—Who are they? The clergy, I am sure nowadays. But St. Ambrose also thought that to be his meaning seriously: "Let the ministers of the Church be the judges."[b] For by 'least esteemed' he could not mean the most ignorant of the laity; they would most certainly have done very strange justice, especially in such causes which they understand not. No, but set them to judge, who by their office are servants, and ministers of all; but those are the clergy, who, as St. Paul's expression is, "Preach not themselves, but Jesus to be the Lord, and themselves your servants, for Jesu's sake." "Meliùs dicit, apud Dei ministros agere causam." Yea, but St. Paul's expression seems to exclude the governors of the Church from intermeddling. "Is there not one wise man among you, that is able to judge between his brethren?" Why, *brethren*, if bishops and priests were to be the judges? they are *fathers*. The objection is not worth the noting, but only for St. Ambrose's answer to it. "Ideò autem fratrem judicem eligendum dicit, qui adhuc rector ecclesiæ illorum non erat ordinatus." "St. Paul used the word 'brethren,' for as yet a bishop was not ordained amongst them of that church;" intimating that the bishop was to be the man, though till then, 'in subsidium' a prudent Christian man might be employed.[c]

2. The Church did always forbid to clergymen a voluntary assumption of engagements in 'rebus sæculi.' So the sixth canon of the Apostles, Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος κοσμικὰ φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω· εἰ δὲ καθαιρείσθω·—"A bishop, and a priest, and a deacon, must not assume, or take on himself, worldly cares: if he does, let him be deposed."[d]

[a] 1 Cor. vi. [b] In hunc locum.
[c] Vide etiam August. de Opere Monach. can. 29.
[d] Can. 7. Latin. Vide Zonar. in Can. Apostol.

Here the prohibition is general, 'No worldly cares.' Not domestic. But how, if they come on him by Divine imposition, or accident? That is nothing, if he does not assume them; that is, by his voluntary act acquire his own trouble. So that if his secular employment be an act of obedience, indeed it is trouble to him, but no sin. But if he seeks it for itself, it is ambition. In this sense, also, must the following canon be understood. Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας διδοὺς καθαιρείσθω· —"A clerk must not be a tutor or guardian," viz. of secular trust, that is, must not seek a diversion from his employment by voluntary tutorship.

3. The Church, also, forbade all secular negotiation for base ends, not precisely the employment itself, but the illness of the intention; and this, indeed, she expressly forbids in her canons. "Pervenit ad sanctam synodum, quòd quidam qui in clero sunt allecti, propter lucra turpia, conductores alienarum possessionum fiant, et sæcularia negotia sub curâ suâ suscipiunt, Dei quidem ministerium parvipendentes, sæcularium verò discurrentes domos, et, propter avaritiam, patrimoniorum sollicitudinem sumentes."[e] Clergymen were farmers of lands, and did take upon them secular employment for covetous designs, and with neglect of the Church. These are the things the council complained of, and, therefore, according to this exigence, the following sanction is to be understood. "Decrevit itaque hoc sanctum magnumque concilium, nullum deinceps, non episcopum, non clericum, vel monachum, aut possessiones conducere, aut negotiis secularibus se immiscere;—No bishop, no clergyman, no monk, must farm grounds, nor engage himself in secular business." What, in none? No, none. "Præter pupillorum, si forte leges imponant inexcusabilem curam, aut civitatis episcopus ecclesiasticarum rerum sollicitudinem habere præcipiat aut orphanorum, et viduarum earum quæ sine ullâ defensione sunt, ac personarum quæ maximè ecclesiastico indigent adjutorio, et propter timorem Domini causa deposcat." This canon will do right to the question.

All secular affairs and bargains, either for covetousness, or with considerable disturbances of church offices, are to be avoided. For a clergyman must not be covetous, much less

[e] Concil. Chalced. act. 15. can. 3.

for covetise must he neglect his cure. To this purpose is that of the second Council of Arles, "Clericus, turpis lucri gratiâ, aliquod genus negotiationis non exerceat."[f] But not here nor at Chalcedon is the prohibition absolute, nor declaratory of an inconsistence and incapacity; for, for all this, the bishop or clerk may do any office that is 'in piâ curiâ.' He may undertake 'the supra-vision of widows and orphans.' And, although he be forbid by the canon of the Apostles to be 'a guardian of pupils,' yet it is expounded here, by this canon of Chalcedon, for a voluntary seeking; it is forbidden by the apostles, but here it is permitted only with 'si fortè leges imponant,—if the law or authority commands him,' then he may undertake it. That is, if either the emperor commands him, or if the bishop permits him, then it is lawful. But without such command or license, it was against the canon of the Apostles. And, therefore, St. Cyprian did himself severely punish Geminius Faustinus, one of the priests of Carthage, for undertaking the executorship of the testament of Geminius Victor:[g] he had no leave of his bishop so to do, and for him, of his own head, to undertake that which would be an avocation of him from his office, did in St. Cyprian's consistory deserve a censure. 3. By this Canon of Chalcedon, any clerk may be the œconomus, or steward of a church, and dispense her revenue, if the bishop command him. 4. He may undertake the patronage or assistance of any distressed person that needs the Church's aid. From hence it is evident, that all secular employment did not 'hoc ipso' avocate a clergyman from his necessary office and duty; for some secular employments are permitted him; 'All causes of piety, of charity, all occurrences concerning the revenues of the Church, and nothing for covetousness, but any thing in obedience,' any thing, I mean, of the forenamed instances. Nay, the affairs of church revenues, and dispensation of ecclesiastical patrimony was imposed on the bishop by the canons apostolical,[h] and then considering how many possessions were deposited first at the apostles' feet, and afterwards in the bishop's hands, we may quickly perceive that a case may occur, in which something else may be done by

[f] Can. 14. [g] Epist. 66.

[h] Vide Synod. Roman. sub. Sylvester. c. iv.; Concil. Chalced. c. xxvi.; et Zonar. ibid.

the bishop and his clergy besides prayer and preaching. Αἱ χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστὴς ἔστω, saith Ignatius to St. Polycarp of Smyrna.—"Let not the widows be neglected; after God, do thou take care of them."—"Qui locupletes sunt, et volunt, pro arbitrio quisque suo quod libitum est, contribuit; et quod collectum est apud præsidem deponitur, atque is inde opitulatur orphanis, et viduis, iisque qui vel morbo vel aliâ de causâ egent: tum iis qui vincti sunt, et peregrè advenientibus hospitibus: et, ut uno verbo dicam, omnium indigentium curator est:—All the collects and offerings of faithful people are deposited with the bishop, and thence he dispenses for the relief of the widows and orphans, thence he provides for travellers, and, in one word, he takes care of all indigent and necessitous people."[i] So it was in Justin Martyr's time, and all this, a man would think, required a considerable portion of his time, besides his studies, and prayer, and preaching.

This was also done even in the apostles' times, for first they had the provision of all the goods and persons of the cœnobium of the Church of Jerusalem. This they themselves administered, till a complaint arose which might have proved a scandal: then they chose seven men, men full of the Holy Ghost, men that were priests, for they were of the seventy disciples, saith Epiphanius; and such men as preached and baptized, so St. Stephen and St. Philip; therefore, to be sure, they were clergymen, and yet they left their preaching for a time, at least abated of the height of the employment; for, therefore, the apostles appointed them, that 'themselves might not leave the word of God and serve tables;' plainly implying that such men who were to serve these tables, must leave the ministry of the word in some sense or degree; and yet they chose presbyters, and no harm neither, and for a while themselves had the employment. I say there was no harm done by this temporary office to their priestly function and employment: for to me it is considerable. If the calling of a presbyter does not take up the whole man, then what inconvenience, though his employment be mixed with secular allay? But if it does take up the whole man, then it is not safe for any presbyter ever to become a bishop, which is a dignity of

[i] Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 2.

a far greater burden, and requires more than a man's all, if all was required to the function of a presbyter. But I proceed.

4. The Church prohibiting secular employment to bishops and clerks, do prohibit it only 'in gradu impedimenti officii clericalis;' and therefore when the offices are supplied by any of the order, it is never prohibited, but that the personal abilities of any man may be employed for the fairest advantages either of church or commonwealth. And, therefore, it is observable that the canons provide that the Church be not destitute, not that such a particular clerk should there officiate. Thus the Council of Arles decreed, "Ut presbyteri, sicut hactenus factum est, indiscretè per diversa non mittantur loca; ne fortè propter eorum absentiam, et animarum pericula, et ecclesiarum, in quibus constituti sunt, negligantur officia."[k] So that here we see, 1. That it had been usual to send priests on embassies, 'sicut hactenus factum est.' 2. The canon forbids the indiscreet or promiscuous doing of it; not that men of great ability and choice be not employed, but that there be discretion or discerning in the choice of the men, viz. that such men be chosen whose particular worth did, by advancing the legation, make compensation for absence from their churches; and then I am sure there was no indiscretion in the embassy, 'quoad hoc' at least; for the ordinary offices of the Church might be dispensed by men of even abilities, but the extraordinary affairs of both states require men of a heightened apprehension. 3. The canon only took care, that 'the cure of the souls of a parish be not relinquished;' for so is the title of the canon, "Ne presbyteri causâ legationis per diversa mittantur loca, curâ animarum relictâ." But then if the cure be supplied by delegation, the fears of the canon are prevented.

In pursuance of this consideration, the Church forbade clergymen to receive honour, or secular preferment; and so it is expressed where the prohibition is made. It is in the Council of Chalcedon.[l] "Qui semel in clero deputati sunt, aut monachorum vitam expetiverunt, statuimus neque ad militiam, neque ad dignitatem aliquam venire mundanam." That is the inhibition; but the canon subjoins a temper;

[k] Apud Burchard. lib. ii. decret. c. 99. [l] Part. act. 15. can. 7.

"Aut hoc tentantes et non agentes pœnitentiam, quo minùs redeant ad hoc, quod propter Deum primitus elegerunt, anathematizari;—They must not turn soldiers, or enter upon any worldly dignity to make them leave their function, which, for the honour of God, they have first chosen:" for then, it seems, he that took on him military honours, or secular prefectures, or consular dignity, could not officiate in holy orders, but must renounce them to assume the other: it was in obstruction of this abuse, that the canon directed its prohibition, viz. in this sense clearly, that a clerk must not so take on him secular offices, as to make him 'redire in sæculum,' having put his hand to the plough, to look back, to change his profession, or to relinquish the Church, and make her become a widow. The case of St. Matthew and St. Peter distinguish and clear this business. "Ecce reliquimus omnia," was the profession of their clerical office. St. Matthew could not return to his trade of publican at all, for that would have taken him from his apostolate. But St. Peter might and did return to his nets, for all his "reliqui omnia." Plainly telling us, that a secular calling, a continued fixed attendance on a business of the world, is an impediment to the clerical office and ministration, but not a temporary employment or secession.

5. The canons of the Church do as much forbid the cares of household, as the cares of public employment to bishops. So the fourth Council of Carthage decrees. "Ut episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed lectioni, et orationi, et verbi Dei prædicationi tantummodò vacet."[m] Now if this canon be confronted with that saying of St. Paul, "He that provides not for them of his own household, is worse than an infidel," it will easily inform us of the Church's intention. For they must provide, saith St. Paul, but yet so provide, as not to hinder their employment, or else they transgress the canon of the council; but this caveat may be as well entered, and observed in things political as economical.

Thus far we have seen what the Church hath done in pursuance of her own interest; and that was, that she might with sanctity, and without distraction, tend her grand

[m] Can. 20.

employment; but yet many cases did occur in which she did canonically permit an alienation of employment, and revocation of some persons from an assiduity of ecclesiastical attendance, as in the case of the seven set over the widows, and of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all the apostles, and the canon of Chalcedon.

Now, let us see how the commonwealth also pursued her interest; and, because she found bishops men of religion and great trust, and confident abilities, there was no reason that the commonwealth should be disserved in the promotion of able men to a bishop's throne. Who would have made recompense to the emperor for depriving him of Ambrose his prefect, if episcopal promotion had made him incapable of serving his prince in any great negotiation? It was a remarkable passage in Ignatius, Τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον——ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν, τῷ Κυρίῳ προεστῶτα· ὁρατικὸν δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ ὀξὺν τοῖς ἔργοις βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι, καὶ μὴ παρεστάναι ἀνθρώποις νωθροῖς.[n]—"As our Lord is to be observed, so also must we observe the bishop, because he assists and serves the Lord. And wise men, and of great understanding, must serve kings, for he must not be served with men of small parts." Here either Ignatius commends bishops to the service of kings, or else propounds them as the fittest men in the world to do them service. For, if only men of great abilities are fit to serve kings, surely as great abilities are required to enable a man for the service of God in so peculiar manner of approximation. He, then, that is fit to be a bishop, is most certainly fit for the service of his king. This is the sense of Ignatius's discourse.

For, consider; Christianity might be suspected for a design; and, if the Church should choose the best, and most pregnant understandings for her employment, and then these men become incapable of aiding the republic, the promotion of these men would be an injury to those princes, whose affairs would need support. The interest of the subjects also is considerable. For we find by experience, that no authority is so full of regiment, and will so finely force obedience, as that which is seated in the conscience; and, therefore, Numa Pompilius made his laws, and imposed them with a face

[n] Epist. ad Ephes.

of religious solemnity. For the people are stronger than any one governor, and were they not awed by religion, would quickly 'miscere sacra profanis,' jumble heaven and earth into a miscellany; and, therefore, not only in the sanction of laws, but in the execution of them, the 'Antistites Religionis' are the most competent instruments; and this was not only in all religions that ever were, and in ours, ever till now, but even now we should quickly find it, were but our bishops in that veneration and esteem that by the law of God they ought, and that actually they were in the calenture of primitive devotion, and that the doctors of religion were ever even amongst the most barbarous and untaught pagans.

Upon the confidence of these advantages, both the emperors themselves, when they first became Christian, allowed appeals from secular tribunals to the bishop's consistory,[o] even in causes of secular interest, and the people would choose to have their difficulties there ended, whence they expected the issues of justice and religion; I say, this was done as soon as ever the emperors were Christian. Before this time, bishops and priests, to be sure, could not be employed in state affairs, they were odious for their Christianity; and then, no wonder if the Church forbade secular employment in meaner offices, the attendance on which could by no means make recompense for the least avocation of them from their church employment. So that it was not only the avocation, but the sordidness of the employment, that was prohibited the clergy in the constitutions of holy church. But as soon as ever their employment might be such as to make compensation for a temporary secession, neither Church nor state did then prohibit it; and that was as soon as ever the princes were Christian, for then immediately the bishops were employed in honorary negotiations. It was evident in the case of St. Ambrose; for the Church of Milan had him for their bishop, and the emperor had him one of his prefects, and the people their judge in causes of secular cognizance. For when he was chosen bishop, the emperor, who was present at the election, cried out, "Gratias tibi ago, Domine, quoniam huic viro ego quidem commisi corpora; tu autem animas, et meam electionem osten-

[o] Sozom. lib. i. c. 9.

disti tuæ justitiæ convenire."[p] So that he was bishop and governor of Milan at the same time; and, therefore, by reason of both these offices, St. Austin was forced to attend a good while before he could find him at leisure. "Non enim quærere ab eo poteram quod volebam sicut volebam, secludentibus me ab ejus aure atque ore catervis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat."[q] And it was his own condition, too, when he came to sit in the chair of Hippo: "Non permittor ad quod volo vacare, ante meridiem; post meridiem, occupationibus hominum teneor."[r] And again; "Et homines quidam causas suas sæculares apud nos finire cupientes, quando eis necessarii fuerimus, sic nos sanctos, et Dei servos appellant, ut negotia terræ suæ peragant. Aliquando et agamus negotium salutis nostræ et salutis ipsorum, non de auro, non de argento, non de fundis, et pecoribus, pro quibus rebus quotidiè submisso capite salutamur, ut dissensiones hominum terminemus."[s] 'It was almost the business of every day to him, to judge causes concerning gold and silver, cattle and glebe, and all appurtenances of this life.' This St. Austin would not have done, if it had not been lawful, so we are to suppose in charity; but yet this we are sure of, St. Austin thought it not only lawful, but a part of his duty; "quibus nos molestiis idem affixit apostolus:"[t] and that by the authority, not of himself, but of him that spake within him, even the Holy Ghost. So he.

Thus, also, it was usual for princes, in the Primitive Church, to send bishops their ambassadors. Constans, the emperor, sent two bishops chosen out of the Council of Sardis, together with Salianus the great master of his army, to Constantius. St. Chrysostom was sent ambassador to Gainas.[u] Maruthus, the bishop of Mesopotamia, was sent ambassador from the emperor, to Isdigerdes, the king of Persia.[x] St. Ambrose, from Valentinian the younger, to the tyrant Maximus.[y] Dorotheus was a bishop and a chamberlain to the emperor.[z] Many more examples there are of the concurrence of the

[p] Tripart. Hist. lib. vii. c. 8.
[q] S. August. lib. vi. Confess. c. 4.
[r] Epist. 110.
[s] Epist. 147.
[t] De Opere Monach. c. xxix.
[u] Tripart. Hist. lib. iv. c. 25.
[x] Ibid. lib. x. c. 6.
[y] Ibid. lib. xi. c. 8.
[z] Epist. Ambros. lib. v. c. 33.

episcopal office and a secular dignity or employment.[a] Now then, consider: the Church did not, might not challenge any secular honour or employment, by virtue of her ecclesiastical dignity precisely. 2. The Church might not be ambitious, or indagative of such employment. 3. The Church's interest, abstractedly considered, was not promoted by such employment; but where there was no greater way of compensation, was interrupted and depressed. 4. The Church, though in some cases she was allowed to make secession, yet might not relinquish her own charge to intervene in another's aid. 5. The Church did by no means suffer her clerks to undertake any low secular employment, much more did she forbid all sordid ends and covetous designs. 6. The bishop or his clerks might ever do any action of piety, though of secular burden. Clerks were never forbidden to read grammar or philosophy to youth, to be master of schools or hospitals; they might reconcile their neighbours that were fallen out about a personal trespass or real action; and yet, since nowadays a clergyman's employment and capacity is bounded within his pulpit or reading-desk, or his study of divinity at most, these that I have reckoned are as verily secular as any thing, and yet no law of Christendom ever prohibited any of these, or any of the like nature, to the clergy; nor any thing that is ingenuous, that is fit for a scholar, that requires either fineness of parts, or great learning, or over-ruling authority, or exemplary piety. 7. Clergymen might do any thing that was imposed on them by their superiors. 8. The bishops and priests were men of great ability and surest confidence for determinations of justice, in which religion was ever the strongest binder. And, therefore, the princes and people sometimes forced the bishops from their own interest, to serve the commonwealth, and in it they served themselves directly, and by consequence too; the Church had not only a sustentation from the secular arm, but an addition of honour and secular advantages; and all this warranted by precedent of Scripture, and the practice of the Primitive Church, and particularly of men whom all succeeding ages have put into the calendar of saints. So that it would be considered, that all this while it is the king's

[a] Euseb. lib. viii. c. 1.

interest and the people's that is pleaded, when we assert a capacity to the bishops to undertake charges of public trust. It is no addition to the calling of bishops. It serves the king, it assists the republic; and, in such a plethory and almost a surfeit of clergymen as this age is supplied with, it can be no disservice to the Church, whose daily offices may be plentifully supplied by vicars; and for the temporary avocation of some few, abundant recompense is made to the Church, which is not at all injured by becoming an occasion of endearing the Church to those whose aid she is.

There is an admirable epistle written by Petrus Blesensis,[b] in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Alexander III., in the defence of the bishops of Ely, Winchester, and Norwich, that attended the court upon service of the king. "Non est novum," saith he, "quòd regum consiliis intersint episcopi. Sicut enim honestate, et sapientiâ cæteros antecedunt, sic expeditiores et efficaciores in reipublicæ administratione censentur. Quia, sicut scriptum est, 'minùs salubriter disponitur regnum, quod non regitur consilio sapientum.' In quo notatur, eos consiliis regum debere assistere, qui sciant et velint, et possint patientibus compati, paci terræ ac populi saluti prospicere, erudire ad justitiam reges, imminentibus occursare periculis, vitæque maturioris exemplis informare subditos et quâdam autoritate potestativâ præsumptionem malignantium cohibere;—It is no new thing for bishops to be counsellors to princes," saith he; "their wisdom and piety, that enables them for a bishoprick, proclaims them fit instruments to promote the public tranquillity of the commonwealth. They know how to comply with oppressed people, to advance designs of peace and public security: it is their office to instruct the king to righteousness, by their sanctity to be a rule to the court, and to diffuse their exemplary piety over the body of the kingdom, to mix influences of religion with designs of state, to make them have as much of the dove as of the serpent, and, by the advantage of their religious authority, to restrain the malignity of accursed people, in whom any image of a God or of religion is remaining." He proceeds in the discourse, and brings the examples of Samuel, Isaiah, Elisha, Jehoiada, Zacharias, who

[b] Epist. 84.

were priests and prophets respectively, and yet employed in princes' courts and councils of kings; and adds this: "Unum noveritis, quia nisi familiares, et consiliarii regis essent episcopi, supra dorsum ecclesiæ hodie fabricarent peccatores, et immaniter ac intolerabiliter opprimeret clerum præsumptio laicalis." That is most true: if the Church had not the advantage of additional honorary employments, "the ploughers would plough upon the Church's back, and make long furrows." The whole epistle is worth transcribing, but I shall content myself with this summary of the advantages, which are acquired both to policy and religion by the employment of bishops in princes' courts: "Istis mediantibus, mansuescit circa simplices judiciarius rigor, admittitur clamor pauperum, ecclesiarum dignitas erigitur, relevatur pauperum indigentia, firmatur in clero libertas, pax in populis, in monasteriis quies, justitia liberè exercetur, superbia opprimitur, augetur laicorum devotio, religio fovetur, diriguntur judicia," &c.:—"When pious bishops are employed in princes' councils, then the rigour of the laws is abated, equity introduced, the cry of the poor is heard, their necessities are made known, the liberties of the Church are conserved, the peace of kingdoms laboured for, pride is depressed, religion increaseth, the devotion of the laity multiplies, and tribunals are made just, and incorrupt, and merciful." Thus far Petrus Blesensis. These are the effects, which though perhaps they do not always fall out, yet these things may in expectation of reason be looked for from the clergy: their principles and calling promise all this. "Et quia in ecclesiâ magis lex est, ubi Dominus legis timetur, meliùs dicit apud Dei ministros agere causam. Faciliùs enim Dei timore sententiam legis veram promunt;" saith St. Ambrose;[c] and, therefore, certainly the fairest reason in the world that they be employed. But if personal defailance be thought reasonable to disemploy the whole calling, then neither clergy nor laity should ever serve a prince.

And now we are easily driven into an understanding of that saying of St. Paul, "No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life."[d] For although this be spoken of all Christian people, and concerns the laity in

[c] In 1 Cor. vi. [d] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

their proportion as much as the clergy, yet, nor one nor the other is interdicted any thing that is not a direct hinderance to their own precise duty of Christianity. And such things must be pared away from the fringes of the laity, as well as the long robe of the clergy. But if we should consider how little we have now left for the employment of a bishop, I am afraid a bishop would scarce seem to be a necessary function, so far would it be from being hindered by the collateral intervening of a lay judicature. I need not instance in any particulars; for if the judging matters and questions of religion be not left alone to them, they may well be put into a temporal employment, to preserve them from suspicion of doing nothing.

I have now done with this; only entreating this to be considered: Is not the king 'fons utriusque jurisdictionis?' In all the senses of common law, and external compulsory, he is. But if so, then why may not the king as well make clergy-judges, as lay-delegates? For, to be sure, if there be an incapacity in the clergy of meddling with secular affairs, there is the same at least in the laity of meddling with church affairs. For if the clergy be above the affairs of the world, then the laity are under the affairs of the Church; or else, if the clergy be incapable of lay-business because it is of a different and disparate nature from the Church, does not the same argument exclude the laity from intervening in church affairs? For the Church differs no more from the commonwealth, than the commonwealth differs from the Church. And now, after all this, suppose a king should command a bishop to go on embassy to a foreign prince, to be a commissioner in a treaty of pacification, if the bishop refuse, did he do the duty of a subject? If yea, I wonder what subjection that is which a bishop owes to his prince, when he shall not be bound to obey him in any thing but the saying and doing of his office, to which he is obliged, whether the prince commands him yea or no. But if no, then the bishop was tied to go, and then the calling makes him no way incapable of such employment, for no man can be bound to do a sin.

SECTION L.

And therefore were enforced to delegate the Power, and put others in Substitution.

But then did not this employment, when the occasions were great and extraordinary, force the bishops to a temporary absence? And what remedy was there for that? For the Church is not to be left destitute, that is agreed on by all the canons. They must not be like the Sicilian bishops whom Petrus Blesensis complains of, that attended the court, and never visited their churches, or took care either of the cure of souls, or of the church possessions. What then must be done? The bishops, in such cases, may give delegation of their power and offices to others, though nowadays they are complained of for their care: I say, for their care; for if they may intervene in secular affairs, they may sometimes be absent, and then they must delegate their power, or leave the church without a curate. But for this matter the account need not be long. For since I have proved that the whole diocese is 'in cura episcopali,' and for all of it he is responsive to God Almighty, and yet that instant necessity and the public act of Christendom hath ratified it, that bishops have delegated to presbyters so many parts of the bishop's charge, as there are parishes in his diocese, ἀνθεντία, which is pretended for delegation of episcopal charge, is no less than the act of all Christendom. For it is evident, at first, presbyters had no distinct cure at all, but were, in common, assistant to the bishop, and were his emissaries for the gaining souls in city or suburbs; but when the bishops divided parishes, and fixed the presbyters upon a cure, so many parishes as they distinguished, so many delegations they made; and these we all believe to be good both in law and conscience: for the bishop "per omnes divinos ordines propriæ hierarchiæ exercet mysteria," saith St. Denis:[a] he does not do the offices of his order by himself only, but by others also, for all the inferior orders do so operate, as by them he does his proper offices.

[a] Eccles. Hierar. c. v.

But besides this grand act of the bishops first, and then of all Christendom in consent, we have fair precedent in St. Paul; for he made delegation of a power to the Church of Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous person. It was a plain delegation, for he commanded them to do it, and gave them his 'own spirit,' that is, his 'own authority;' and indeed, without it, I scarce find how the delinquent should have been delivered over to Satan in the sense of the apostolic Church; that is, 'to be buffeted,' for that was a miraculous appendix of power apostolic.

When St. Paul sent for Timothy from Ephesus, he sent Tychicus to be his vicar. "Do thy diligence to come unto me shortly, for Demas hath forsaken me, &c. and Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus."[b] Here was an express delegation of the power of jurisdiction to Tychicus, who for the time was curate to St. Timothy. Epaphroditus for a while attended on St. Paul, although he was then bishop of Philippi; and either St. Paul or Epaphroditus appointed one in substitution, or the church was relinquished, for he was most certainly non-resident.[c]

Thus also we find that St. Ignatius did delegate his power to the presbyters, in his voyage to his martyrdom: "Presbyteri, pascite gregem qui inter vos est, donec Deus designaverit eum, qui principatum in vobis habiturus est:—Ye presbyters, do you feed the flock till God shall design you a bishop."[d] Till then, therefore it was but a delegate power; it could not else have expired in the presence of a superior. To this purpose is that of the Laodicean Council: "Non oportet presbyteros ante ingressum episcopi ingredi, et sedere in tribunalibus, nisi fortè aut ægrotet episcopus, aut in peregrinis eum esse constiterit:—Presbyters must not sit in consistory without the bishop, unless the bishop be sick or absent."[e] So that it seems, what the bishop does when he is in his church, that may be committed to others in his absence. And to this purpose St. Cyprian sent a plain commission to his presbyters: "Fretus ergo dilectione et religione vestrâ, his literis hortor et mando, ut vos, vice mea, fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit:—I

[b] 2 Tim. iv. 9, 12.
[c] Phil. ii. 25, 26.
[d] Epist. ad Antioch.
[e] Can. 56.

entreat and command you, that you do my office in the administration of the affairs of the Church."[f] And another time he put Herculanus and Caldonius, two of his suffragans, together with Rogatianus and Numidicus, two priests, in substitution for the excommunicating Fœlicissimus and four more, "cùm ego vos pro me vicarios miserim."[g] So it was just in the case of Hierocles, bishop of Alexandria, and Melitius, his surrogate, in Epiphanius: "Videbatur autem et Melitius præmenire, &c., ut qui secundum locum habebat post Petrum in archiepiscopatu, velut adjuvandi ejus gratiâ sub ipso existens, et sub ipso ecclesiastica curans:" "He did church offices under, and for Hierocles."[h] And I could never find any canon or personal declamatory clause, in any council or primitive father, against a bishop's giving more or less of his jurisdiction by way of delegation.

Hitherto also may be referred, that when the goods of all the Church, which then were of a perplexed and busy dispensation, were all in the bishop's hand, as part of the episcopal function, yet that part of the bishop's office, the bishop, by order of the Council of Chalcedon, might delegate to a steward, provided he were a clergyman. And upon this intimation and decree of Chalcedon, the fathers in the Council of Seville, forbade any laymen to be stewards for the Church: "Elegimus ut unusquisque nostrûm, secundum Chalcedonensium patrum decreta, ex proprio clero œconomum tibi constituat."[i] But the reason extends the canon further: "Indecorum est enim laicum vicarium esse episcopi, et sæculares in ecclesiâ judicare." Vicars of bishops the canon allows, only forbids laymen to be vicars. "In uno enim eodemque officio non decet dispar professio, quod etiam in divinâ lege prohibetur," &c.: "In one and the same office, the law of God forbids to join men of disparate capacities." Then this would be considered. For the canon pretends Scripture, precepts of fathers, and tradition of antiquity, for its sanction.

[f] Epist. 9.
[g] Epist. 31, 39.
[h] Hæres. 68.
[i] Concil. Hispal. c. vi.

SECTION LI.

But they were ever Clergymen, for there never were any lay Elders in any Church-office heard of in the Church.

For although antiquity approves of episcopal delegations of their power to their vicars, yet these vicars and delegates must be priests, at least. Melitius was a bishop, and yet the chancellor of Hierocles, patriarch of Alexandria; so were Herculanus and Caldonius to St. Cyprian. But they never delegated to any layman any part of their episcopal power precisely. Of their lay power, or the cognizance of secular causes of the people, I find one delegation made to some gentlemen of the laity, by Sylvanus, bishop of Troas:[a] when his clerks grew covetous, he cured their itch of gold by trusting men of another profession, so to shame them into justice and contempt of money. "Si quis autem episcopus posthâc ecclesiasticam rem laicali procuratione administrandam elegerit, non solùm à Christo de rebus pauperum judicatur reus, sed etiam et concilio manebit obnoxius;—If any bishop shall hereafter concredit any church affairs to lay administration, he shall be responsive to Christ, and in danger of the council."[b] But the thing was of more ancient constitution; for in that epistle which goes under the name of St. Clement, which is most certainly very ancient, whoever was the author of it, it is decreed, "Si qui ex fratribus negotia habent inter se, apud cognitores sæculi non judicentur, sed apud presbyteros ecclesiæ, quicquid illud est, dirimatur; — If Christian people have causes of difference and judicial contestation, let it be ended before the priests." For so St. Clement expounds 'presbyteros' in the same epistle, reckoning it as a part of the sacred hierarchy.[c] To this, or some parallel constitution, St. Jerome relates, saying that "priests, from the beginning, were appointed judges of causes." He expounds his meaning to be of such priests as were also bishops; and they were judges 'ab initio,—from the beginning,' saith St. Jerome.[d] So that the saying

[a] Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 37.
[b] Concil. Hispan. ubi suprà.
[c] Epist. ad Jacob. Fratr. Dom.
[d] De 7 Ordin. Eccles.

of the father may no way prejudge the bishop's authority, but it excludes the assistance of laymen from their consistories. 'Presbyter' and 'episcopus' were instead of one word to St. Jerome, but they are always clergy with him and all men else.

But, for the main question, St. Ambrose did represent it to Valentinian, the emperor, with confidence and humility, "In causa fidei, ecclesiastici alicujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis."[e] The whole epistle is admirable to this purpose; "Sacerdotes de sacerdotibus judicare; — that clergymen only must judge of clergy causes;" and this St. Ambrose there calls "judicium episcopale, — the bishop's judicature." "Si tractandum est, tractare in ecclesia didici, quod majores fecerunt mei. Si conferendum de fide, sacerdotum debet esse ista collatio, sicut factum est sub Constantino, augustæ memoriæ principe." So that both "matters of faith and of ecclesiastical order are to be handled in the Church, and that by bishops," and that 'sub imperatore,' by permission and authority of the prince: for so it was in Nice, under Constantine. Thus far St. Ambrose.

St. Athanasius reports, that Hosius, bishop of Corduba, president in the Nicene Council, said it was the abomination of desolation that a layman shall be judge 'in ecclesiasticis judiciis, — in church causes.'[f] And Leontius calls church affairs, "res alienas à laicis, — things of another court, of a distinct cognizance from the laity."[g] To these add the Council of Venice, for it is very considerable in this question: "Clerico, nisi ex permissu episcopi sui, servorum suorum sæcularia judicia adire non liceat. Sed si fortasse episcopi sui judicium suspectum habere coeperit habere suspectum, aut ipsi de proprietate aliquâ adversus ipsum episcopum fuerit nata contentio, aliorum episcoporum audientiam, non sæcularium potestatum debebit ambire. Aliter, à communione habeatur alienus; — Clergymen, without delegation from their bishop, may not hear the causes of their servants, but the bishop, unless the bishop be appealed from; then the other bishops must hear the cause, but no lay judges by any means."[h]

[e] Epist. 13. ad Valent.
[f] Epist. ad Solitar.
[g] Suidas in Vitâ Leontii.
[h] Can. 9, A.D. 453.

These sanctions of holy Church it pleased the emperor to ratify by an imperial edict; for so Justinian commanded, that in causes ecclesiastical, secular judges should have no interest: "Sed sanctissimus episcopus secundum sacras regulas causæ finem imponat;—The bishop, according to the sacred canons, must be the sole judge of church matters."[i] I end this with the decretal of St. Gregory, one of the four doctors of the Church: "Cavendum est à fraternitate vestrâ, ne sæcularibus viris, atque non sub regulâ nostrâ degentibus, res ecclesiasticæ committantur;—Heed must be taken that matters ecclesiastical be not any ways concredited to secular persons."[k] But of this I have twice spoken already.—(Sect. 36. and sect. 41.)

The thing is so evident, that it is next to impudence to say that, in antiquity, laymen were parties and assessors in the consistory of the Church. It was against their faith, it was against their practice; and those few pigmy objections out of Tertullian,[l] St. Ambrose,[m] and St. Austin,[n] using the word 'seniores,' or elders, sometimes for priests, as being the Latin for the Greek πρεσβύτεροι, sometimes for a secular magistrate, or alderman (for I think St. Austin did so in his third book against Cresconius), are but like sophisms to prove that two and two are not four; for, to pretend such slight, airy imaginations, against the constant, known, open catholic practice and doctrine of the Church, and history of all ages, is as if a man should go to fight an imperial army with a single bulrush. They are not worth further considering.

But this is: that in this question of lay elders, the modern Arians and Acephali do wholly mistake their own advantages: for whatsoever they object, out of antiquity, for the white and watery colours of lay elders, is either a very misprision of their allegations, or else clearly abused in the use of them. For, nowadays, they are only used to exclude and drive forth episcopacy; but then they misallege antiquity; for the men with whose heifers they would fain plough in this question, were themselves bishops for the most part, and he that was not, would fain have been; it is known so of

[i] Novel. Constit. 123. [k] Lib. vii. Epist. 66. [l] Tertul. Apol. c. 33.
[m] S. Amb. in 1 Tim. v. 1; et lib. i. de Offic. c. 20.
[n] S. August. lib. iii. contra Crescon.; et Epist. 137.

Tertullian; and, therefore, most certainly, if they had spoken of lay-judges in church matters (which they never dreamed of), yet meant them not so as to exclude episcopacy, and if not, then the pretended allegations can do no service in the present question.

I am only to clear this pretence from a place of Scripture totally misunderstood, and then it cannot have any colour from any αὐθεντία, either Divine or human, but that lay-judges of causes ecclesiastical, as they are unheard of in antiquity, so they are neither named in Scripture, nor receive from thence any instructions for their deportment in their imaginary office; and, therefore, may be remanded to the place from whence they came, even the lake of Gehenna, and so to the place of the nearest denomination. The objection is from St. Paul, οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, &c.—"Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine:" 'especially they,'[o]—therefore, all elders do not so. Here are two sorts of elders: preaching ministers, and elders not preachers. Therefore lay-elders, and yet all are governors,

But why, therefore, lay-elders? Why may there not be divers church-officers, and yet but one or two of them the preacher? "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach," saith St. Paul; and yet the commission of 'baptizate' was as large as 'prædicate,' and why, then, might not another say, 'Christ sent me not to preach but to baptize?' that is, in St. Paul's sense, not so much to do one as to do the other, and if he left the ordinary ministration of baptism, and betook himself to the ordinary office of preaching, then, to be sure, some minister must be the ordinary baptizer, and so not the preacher: for if he might be both ordinarily, why was not St. Paul both? For though their power was common to all of the same order, yet the execution and dispensation of the ministries was according to several gifts, and that of prophecy or preaching was not dispensed to all in so considerable a measure, but that some of them might be destined to the ordinary execution of other offices, and yet, because the gift of prophecy was the greatest, so also was the office; and, therefore, the sense of the words is this, 'That all presbyters must be honoured, but especially they that prophesy, doing

[o] 1 Tim. v. 17.

that office with an ordinary execution and ministry.' So no lay-elders yet. Add to this, that it is also plain, that all the clergy did not preach. Valerius, bishop of Hippo, could not well skill of the Latin tongue, being a Greek born, and yet a godly bishop; and St. Austin, his presbyter, preached for him. The same case might occur in the apostles' times. For then was a concourse of all nations to the Christian synaxes, especially in all great imperial cities and metropolitans, as Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and the like. Now all could not speak with tongues, neither could all prophesy; they were particular gifts, given severally, to several men, appointed to minister in church-offices. Some prophesied, some interpreted; and, therefore, it is an ignorant fancy to think that he must needs be a laic, whosoever, in the ages apostolical, was not a preacher.

2. None of the fathers ever expounded this place of lay-elders, so that we have a traditive interpretation of it in prejudice to the pretence of our new office.

3. The word presbyter is never used in the New Testament for a layman, if a church-officer be intended. If it be said, it is used so here, that is the question, and must not be brought to prove itself.

4. The presbyter that is here spoken of, must be maintained by ecclesiastical revenue, for so St. Paul expounds 'honour' in the next verse. "Presbyters that rule well, must be honoured," &c. "For it is written, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." But now the patrons of this new device are not so greedy of their lay-bishops as to be at charges with them, they will rather let them stand alone on their own rotten legs, and so perish, than fix him upon this place with their hands in their purses. But it had been most fitting for them to have kept him, being he is of their own begetting.

5. This place speaks not of divers persons, but divers parts of the pastoral office, προϊστασθαι, and κοπιᾷν ἐν λόγῳ—'To rule and to labour in the word.' Just as if the expression had been 'in materiâ politicâ.' All good counsellors of state are worthy of double honour, especially them that, disregarding their own private, aim at the public good. This implies not two sorts of counsellors, but two parts of a counsellor's worth and quality. Judges that do righteousness are worthy of

double honour, especially if they right the cause of orphans and widows; and yet there are no righteous judges that refuse to do both.

6. All ministers of Holy Church did not preach, at least not frequently. The seven that were ἐπὶ τῶν χήρων τεταγμένοι,—'set over the widows,' were presbyters, but yet they were forced to leave the constant ministration of the word to attend that employment, as I shewed formerly;[p] and thus it was in descent too, for ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, οὐ προσομιλεῖ, said Socrates;[q]—"A presbyter does not preach in Alexandria, the bishop only did it." And then the allegation is easily understood. For 'labouring in the word' does not signify only making homilies or exhortations to the people, but whether it be by word, or writing, or travelling from place to place, still, the greater the sedulity of the person is, and difficulty of the labour, the greater increment of honour is to be given him. So that here are no lay-elders; for all the presbyters St. Paul speaks of are to be honoured, but especially those who take extraordinary pains in propagating the Gospel. For though all preach (suppose that), yet all do not κοπιᾷν, take such great pains in it as is intimated in κοπιῶντες. For κοπιᾷν is "to take bodily labour and travel, 'usque ad lassitudinem,'" so Budæus renders it. And so, it is likely, St. Paul here means. Honour the good presbyters, but especially them that travel for disseminating the Gospel. And the word is often so used in Scripture. St. Paul, ἀλλὰ περισσότερον πάντων ἐκοπίασα·—"I have travelled in the word more than they all." Not that St. Paul preached more than all the apostles, for, most certainly, they made it their business as well as he. But he travelled further, and more than they all, for the spreading it. And thus it is said of the good women that travelled with the apostles, for supply of the necessities of their diet and household offices, "they laboured much in the Lord."[r] Κοπιᾷν is the word for them too. So it is said of Persis, of Mary, of Tryphæna, of Tryphosa. And since those women were κοπιῶσαι ἐν Κυρίῳ, that travelled with the apostolical men and evangelists, the men also travelled too, and preached, and, therefore, were κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ,—that is, "travellers in the word." "We ought, therefore, to receive such," saith St. John,[s] intimating

[p] Sec. 48.
[q] Lib. v. c. 22.
[r] Rom. xvi.
[s] Epist. c. iii.

a particular reception of them, as being towards us of a peculiar merit. So that the sense of St. Paul may be this also, all the rulers of the Church, that is, all bishops, apostles, and apostolic men, are to be honoured, but especially them who, besides the former ruling, are also 'travellers in the word,' or evangelists.

7. We are furnished with answer enough to infatuate this pretence for lay-elders, from the common draught of the new discipline. For they have some that preach only, and some that rule and preach too, and yet neither of them the lay-elders, viz. their pastors and doctors.

8. Since it is pretended by themselves, in the question of episcopacy, that 'presbyter' and 'episcopus' is all one, and this very thing confidently obtruded, in defiance of episcopacy, why may not 'presbyteri,' in this place, signify 'bishops?' And then either this must be lay-bishops, as well as lay-presbyters, or else this place is to none of their purposes.

9. If both these offices of ruling and preaching may be conjunct in one person, then there is no necessity of distinguishing the officers by the several employments, since one man may do both. But if these offices cannot be conjunct, then no bishops must preach, nor no preachers be of the consistory (take which government you list), for if they be, then the officer, being united in one person, the inference of the distinct officer, the lay-elder, is impertinent. For the meaning of St. Paul would be nothing but this:—All church-rulers must be honoured, especially for their preaching. For if the offices may be united in one person (as it is evident they may), then this may be comprehended within the other, and only be a vital part, and of peculiar excellence. And, indeed, so it is, according to the exposition of St. Chrysostom and Primasius: Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ καλῶς προεστάναι μηδενὸς φείδεσθαι τῆς τῶν προβάτων κηδεμονίας ἕνεκεν'—"They rule well that spare nothing for the care of the flock." So that this is the general charge, and preaching is the particular. For the work, in general, they are to receive double honour, but this of preaching, as then preaching was, had a particular excellence, and a plastic power to form men into Christianity, especially it being then attested with miracles.

But the new office of a lay-elder, I confess, I cannot

comprehend in any reasonable proportion, his person, his quality, his office, his authority, his subordination, his commission, hath made so many divisions and new emergent questions; and they, none of them all, asserted, either by Scripture or antiquity, that if I had a mind to leave the way of God, and of the catholic Church, and run in pursuit of this meteor, I might quickly be amused; but should find nothing certain, but a certainty of being misguided. Therefore, if not for conscience sake, yet for prudence, 'bonum est esse hîc,' it is good to remain in the fold of Christ, under the guard and supravision of those shepherds Christ hath appointed, and which his sheep have always followed.

For I consider this one thing to be enough to determine the question. "My sheep," saith our blessed Saviour, "hear my voice; if a stranger or a thief come, him they will not hear." Clearly thus. That Christ's sheep hear not the voice of a stranger, nor will they follow him, and, therefore, those shepherds whom the Church hath followed in all ages, are no strangers, but shepherds or pastors of Christ's appointing, or else Christ hath had no sheep; for if he hath, then bishops are the shepherds, for them they have ever followed. I end with that golden rule of Vincentius Lirinensis: "Magnoperè curandum est ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est enim verè, proprièque catholicum."[t] For, certainly, the catholic belief of the Church against Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, and, the worst of heretics, the Cataphrygians, was never more truly received 'of all, and always, and every where,' than is the government of the Church by bishops. "Annunciare ergo Christianis catholicis, præter id quod acceperunt, nunquam licuit, nunquam licet, nunquam licebit; — It never was, is, nor ever shall be, lawful to teach Christian people any new thing than what they have received" from a primitive fountain, and is descended in the stream of catholic uninterrupted succession.[u]

I only add, that the Church hath insinuated it to be the duty of all good catholic Christians to pray for bishops, and, as the case now stands, for episcopacy itself: for there was never any church-liturgy but said litanies for their king and for their bishop.

[t] Cap. iii. adv. Hæreses. [u] Cap. xiv.

AN

APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS

OF

LITURGY,

AGAINST

THE PRETENCE OF THE SPIRIT.

I. FOR EXTEMPORE PRAYER,

AND

II. FORMS OF PRIVATE COMPOSITION.

TO HIS

MOST SACRED MAJESTY.

It is now two years since part of these ensuing papers, like the public issue of the people, imperfect and undressed, were exposed, without a parent to protect them, or any hand to nourish them. But since your most sacred Majesty was pleased graciously to look upon them, they are grown into a tract, and have an ambition (like the gourd of Jonas) to dwell in the eye of the sun, from whence they received life and increment. And although because some violence hath been done to the profession of the doctrine of this treatise, it may seem to be 'verbum in tempore non suo,' and like the offering cypress to a conqueror, or palms to a broken army; yet I hope I shall the less need an apology, because it is certain, he does really disserve no just and noble interest, that serves that of the Spirit and religion. And

because the sufferings of a king and a confessor are the great demonstration to all the world, that truth is as dear to your Majesty as the jewels of your diadem, and that your conscience is tender as a pricked eye; I shall pretend this only to alleviate the inconvenience of an unseasonable address, that I present your Majesty with a humble persecuted truth, of the same constitution with that condition whereby you are become most dear to God, as having upon you the characterism of the sons of God, bearing in your sacred person the marks of the Lord Jesus, who is your elder brother, the King of sufferings, and the Prince of the catholic Church. But I consider that kings, and their great councils, and rulers ecclesiastical, have a special obligation for the defence of liturgies; because they, having the greatest offices, have the greatest needs of auxiliaries from Heaven, which are best procured by the public spirit, the spirit of government and supplication. And since the first, the best, and most solemn liturgies and set forms of prayer, were made by the best and greatest princes, by Moses, by David and the son of David; your Majesty may be pleased to observe such a proportion of circumstances in my laying this 'Apology for Liturgy' at your feet, that

possibly I may the easier obtain a pardon for my great boldness; which, if I shall hope for, in all other contingencies I shall represent myself a person indifferent whether I live or die, so I may by either serve God, and God's Church, and God's vicegerent, in the capacity of,

Great Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble,

And most obedient Subject and Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS OF LITURGY.

When judges were instead of kings, and Hophni and Phinehas were among the priests, every man did what was right in his own eyes, but few did what was pleasing in the eyes of the Lord; and the event was this, God put on his fierce anger against them, and stirred up and armed the enemies of their country and religion, and they prevailed very far, against the expectation and confidence of them who thought the goodness of their cause would have borne out the iniquity of their persons, and that the impiety of their adversaries would have disabled them even from being made God's scourges and instruments of punishing his own people: the sadness of the event proved the vanity of their hopes; for that which was the instrument of their worship, the determination of their religious addresses, the place where God did meet his people, from which the priests spake to God, and God gave his oracles, that they dishonourably and miserably lost: the ark of the Lord was taken; the impious priests, who made the sacrifice of the Lord to become an abomination to the people, were slain with the sword of the Philistines; old Eli lost his life, and the wife of Phinehas died with sorrow and the miscarriages of childbirth, crying out, "That the glory was departed from Israel, because the ark of God was taken."

2. In these things we also have been but too like the sons of Israel; for when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of his judgments especially in religion; he hath snuffed our lamp so near, that it is almost extinguished, and the sacred fire was put into a hole of the earth, even then when we were forced to light those tapers that stood upon our altars, that by this sad truth better than by the old ceremony, we might prove our succession to those holy men, who were constrained to sing hymns to Christ in dark places and retirements.

3. But I delight not to observe the correspondences of such sad accidents, which, as they may happen upon divers causes, or may be forced violently upon the strength of fancy, or driven on by jealousy, and the too fond openings of troubled hearts and afflicted spirits; so they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted but with a fantastic and groundless comfort: I will, therefore, deny leave to my own affections to ease themselves by complaining of others: I shall only crave leave that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night; these were the pleasures of our peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights which we then enjoyed, as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. And it may be so again, when it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hand, and turneth them as the rivers of waters; and when men will consider the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant to the destroying forms of such discipline and devotion in which God was purely worshipped, and the Church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion.

4. And such is the liturgy of the Church of England. I shall not need to enumerate the advantages of liturgy in general, though it be certain that some liturgy or other is

most necessary in public addresses, that so we may imitate the perpetual practice of all settled churches since Christianity, or ever since Moses's law, or the Jewish Church came to have a settled foot, and any rest in the land of Canaan. 2. That we may follow the example, and obey the precept, of our blessed Saviour, who appointed a set form of devotion; and certainly they that profess enmity against all liturgy, can in no sense obey the precept given by him, who gave command, "When ye pray, say, Our Father." 3. That all that come may know the condition of public communion, their religion, and manner of address to God Almighty. 4. That the truth of the proposition, the piety of the desires, and the honesty of the petitions, the simplicity of our purposes, and the justice of our designs, may be secured beforehand; because whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, and it is impossible that we should pray to God in the extempore prayers of the priest, by any faith, but unreasonable, unwarranted, insecure, and implicit. 5. That there may be union of hearts, and spirits, and tongues. 6. That there may be a public symbol of communion in our prayers, which are the best instruments of endearing us to God, and to one another; Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀνεπιτήδεια πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς·— "Private prayer not assisted with the concord and unity of a public spirit, is weaker and less effectual," saith St. Basil. 7. That the ministers less learned, may have provisions of devotions made for them. 8. That the more learned may have no occasion of ostentation ministered to them, lest their best actions, their prayers, be turned into sin. 9. That extravagant levities, and secret impieties, be prevented. 10. That the offices ecclesiastical may the better secure the articles of religion. 11. That they may edify the people, by being repositories of holy and necessary truths ready formed out of their needs, and described in their books of daily use; for that was one of the advices of the apostle,[a] 'teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs.' 12. That men by the intervening of authority, may be engaged to certain devotions. 13. That not only the duty, but the very form of its ministration may be honoured by the countenance of authority, and not be exposed to con-

[a] Colos. iii.

tempt, by reason of the insufficiency of its external warrant. 14. That the assignation of such offices, and appropriating them to the ministry of certain persons, may be a cancel to secure the enclosures of the clerical orders from the usurpings and invasions of pretending and unhallowed spirits. 15. That indetermination of the office may not introduce indifference, nor indifference lead in a freer liberty, or liberty degenerate into licentiousness, or licentiousness into folly and vanity; and these come sometimes attended with secular designs, lest these be cursed with the immission of a peevish spirit upon our priests, and that spirit be a teacher of lies, and these lies become the basis of impious theorems, which are certainly attended with ungodly lives; and then either atheism or antichristianism may come, according as shall happen in the conjunction of time and other circumstances; for this would be a sad climax, a ladder upon which are no angels ascending or descending, because the degrees lead to darkness and misery.

5. But that which is of special concernment is this, that the liturgy of the Church of England hath advantages so many and so considerable, as not only to raise itself above the devotions of other churches, but to endear the affections of good people to be in love with liturgy in general.

6. For to the churches of the Roman communion we can say, that ours is reformed; to the reformed churches we can say, that ours is orderly and decent; for we were freed from the impositions and lasting errors of a tyrannical spirit, and yet from the extravagances of a popular spirit too: our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we saw it necessary to reform; we were zealous to cast away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with the consideration and the results of authority: but like women or children when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes; we shaked off the coal indeed, but not our garments, lest we should have exposed our churches to that nakedness which the excellent men of our sister churches complained to be among themselves.

7. And, indeed, it is no small advantage to our liturgy, that it was the offspring of all that authority which was to prescribe in matters of religion. The king and the priest, which are the 'antistites religionis,' and the preservers of both the tables, joined in this work; and the people, as it was

represented in parliament, were advised withal, in authorizing the form after much deliberation; for the rule, 'Quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet,' was here observed with strictness, and then, as it had the advantages of discourse, so also of authorities,—its reason from one, and its sanction from the other, that it might be both reasonable, and sacred, and free, not only from the indiscretions, but (which is very considerable) from the scandal of popularity.

8. And in this, I cannot but observe the great wisdom and mercy of God in directing the contrivers of the liturgy, with the spirit of zeal and prudence, to allay the furies and heats of the first affrightment. For when men are in danger of burning, so they leap from the flames, they consider not whither, but whence: and the first reflections of a crooked tree are not to straightness, but to a contrary incurvation: yet it pleased the Spirit of God so to temper and direct their spirits, that in the first liturgy of King Edward, they did rather retain something that needed further consideration, than reject any thing that was certainly pious and holy; and in the second liturgy, that they might also thoroughly reform, they did rather cast out something that might, with good profit, have remained, than not satisfy the world of their zeal to reform, of their charity in declining every thing that was offensive, and the clearness of their light in discerning every semblance of error or suspicion in the Roman Church.

9. The truth is, although they framed the liturgy with the greatest consideration that could be, by all the united wisdom of this church and state; yet, as if prophetically to avoid their being charged in after ages with a 'crepusculum' of religion, a dark, 'twilight,' imperfect reformation, they joined to their own star all the shining tapers of the other reformed churches, calling for the advice of the most eminently learned and zealous reformers in other kingdoms, that the light of all together might shew them a clear path to walk in. And this their care produced some change; for, upon the consultation, the first form of King Edward's service-book was approved with the exception of a very few clauses, which upon that occasion were reviewed and expunged, till it came to that second form and modest beauty, it was in the edition

of MDLII., and which Gilbertus, a German, approved of as a transcript of the ancient and primitive forms.

10. It was necessary for them to stay somewhere. Christendom was not only reformed, but divided too, and every division would, to all ages, have called for some alteration, or else have disliked it publicly; and since all that cast off the Roman yoke, thought they had title enough to be called reformed, it was hard to have pleased all the private interests and peevishness of men that called themselves friends; and, therefore, that only in which the Church of Rome had prevaricated against the word of God, or innovated against apostolical tradition, all that was pared away. But at last she fixed, and strove no further to please the people, who never could be satisfied.

11. The painter that exposed his work to the censure of the common passengers, resolving to mend it as long as any man could find fault, at last had brought the eyes to the ears, and the ears to the neck, and for his excuse subscribed, 'Hanc populus fecit:' but his 'hanc ego,' that which he made by the rules of his art, and the advice of men skilled in the same mystery, was the better piece. The Church of England should have pared away all the canon of the communion, if she had mended her piece at the prescription of the Zuinglians; and all her office of baptism, if she had mended by the rules of the Anabaptists; and kept up altars still by the example of the Lutherans; and have not retained decency by the good-will of the Calvinists; and now another new light is sprung up, she should have no liturgy at all, but the worship of God be left to the managing of chance, and indeliberation, and a petulant fancy.

12. It began early to discover its inconvenience; for when certain zealous persons fled to Frankfort, to avoid the funeral piles kindled by the Roman bishops in Queen Mary's time, as if they had not enemies enough abroad, they fell foul with one another, and the quarrel was about the Common Prayer-book; and some of them made their appeal to the judgment of Mr. Calvin, whom they prepossessed with strange representments and troubled phantasms concerning it; and yet the worst he said upon the provocation of those prejudices was, that even its vanities were

tolerable. 'Tolerabiles ineptias' was the unhandsome epithet he gave to some things, which he was forced to dislike by his over-earnest complying with the brethren of Frankfort.

13. Well! upon this, the wisdom of this church and state saw it necessary to fix, where, with advice, she had begun,—and with counsel, she had once mended. And to have altered in things inconsiderable, upon a new design or sullen mislike, had been extreme levity, and apt to have made the men contemptible, their authority slighted, and the thing ridiculous, especially before adversaries, that watched all opportunity and appearances to have disgraced the reformation. Here, therefore, it became a law, was established by an act of parliament, was made solemn by an appendant penalty against all, that, on either hand, did prevaricate a sanction of so long and so prudent consideration.

14. But the Common Prayer-book had the fate of St. Paul; for when it had scaped the storms of the Roman sea, yet a viper sprung out of Queen Mary's fires, which at Frankfort first leaped upon the hand of the Church; but since that time, it hath gnawn the bowels of its own mother, and given itself life by the death of its parent and nurse.

15. For as for the adversaries from the Roman party, they were so convinced by the piety and innocence of the Common Prayer-book, that they could accuse it of no deformity; but of imperfection, of a want of some things which they judged convenient, because the error had a wrinkle on it, and the face of antiquity. And, therefore, for ten or eleven years they came to our churches, joined in our devotions, and communicated without scruple, till a temporal interest of the Church of Rome rent the schism wider, and made it gape like the jaws of the grave.

And let me say, it adds no small degree to my confidence and opinion of the English Common Prayer-book, that, amongst the numerous armies sent from the Roman seminaries (who were curious enough to inquire, able enough to find out, and wanted no anger to have made them charge home any error in our liturgy, if the matter had not been unblamable, and the composition excellent), there was never any impiety or heresy charged upon the liturgy of the Church: for I reckon not the calumnies of Harding, for they were only in general, calling it 'darkness,' &c., from which aspersion it

was worthily vindicated by M. Deering. The truth of it is, the compilers took that course which was sufficient to have secured it against the malice of a Spanish inquisitor, or the scrutiny of a more inquisitive presbytery; for they put nothing of controversy into their prayers, nothing that was then matter of question; only because they could not prophesy, they put in some things which, since then, have been called to question by persons whose interest was highly concerned to find fault with something. But that also hath been the fate of the penmen of Holy Scripture, some of which could prophesy, and yet could not prevent this. But I do not remember that any man was ever put to it to justify the common prayer against any positive, public, and professed charge by a Roman adversary: nay, it is transmitted to us by the testimony of persons greater than all exceptions, that Paulus Quartus, in his private intercourses and letters to Queen Elizabeth, did offer to confirm the English Common Prayer-book, if she would acknowledge his primacy and authority, and the reformation derivative from him.[b] And this lenity was pursued by his successor, Pius Quartus,[c] with an 'omnia de nobis tibi polliceare:' he assured her she should have any thing from him, not only things pertaining to her soul, but what might conduce to the establishment and confirmation of her royal dignity; amongst which, that the liturgy, new established by her authority, should not be rescinded by the pope's power, was not the least considerable.

16. And possibly this hath cast a cloud upon it in the eyes of such persons who never will keep charity, or so much as civility, but with those with whom they have made a league offensive and defensive against all the world. This hath made it to be suspected of too much compliance with that church, and her offices of devotion, and that it is a very cento composed out of the Mass-book, Pontifical, Breviaries, Manuals, and Portuises, of the Roman Church.

17. I cannot say but many of our prayers are also in the Roman offices. But so they are also in the Scripture, so also is the Lord's prayer; and if they were not, yet the allegation is very inartificial, and the charge peevish and unreasonable,

[b] Tortura Torti, p. 142.

[c] Camb. Annal. A.D. 1560.

unless there were nothing good in the Roman books, or that it were unlawful to pray a good prayer, which they had once stained with red letters. The objection hath not sense enough to procure an answer upon its own stock, but by reflection from a direct truth, which uses to be like light manifesting itself, and discovering darkness.

18. It was first perfected in King Edward VI.'s time, but it was, by and by, impugned, through the obstinate and dissembling malice of many; they are the words of M. Fox, in his "Book of Martyrs." Then it was reviewed and published with so much approbation, that it was accounted the work of God; but yet, not long after, there were some persons, 'qui divisionis occasionem arripiebant,' saith Alesius, 'vocabula et pene syllabas expendendo;—they tried it by points and syllables, and weighed every word,' and sought occasions to quarrel: which being observed by Archbishop Cranmer, he caused it to be translated into Latin, and sent it to Bucer, requiring his judgment of it, who returned this answer: "That although there are in it some things 'quæ rapi possunt ab inquietis ad materiam contentionis,—which, by peevish men, may be cavilled at,' yet there was nothing in it but what was taken out of the Scriptures, or agreeable to it, if rightly understood; that is, if handled and read by wise and good men." The zeal which Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Ridley, Dr. Taylor, and other the holy martyrs and confessors in Queen Mary's time, expressed for this excellent liturgy, before and at the time of their death, defending it by their disputations, adorning it by their practice, and sealing it with their bloods, are arguments which ought to recommend it to all the sons of the Church of England for ever, infinitely to be valued beyond all the little whispers and murmurs of argument pretended against it: and when it came out of the flame, and was purified in the martyrs' fires, it became a vessel of honour, and used in the house of God in all the days of that long peace, which was the effect of God's blessing, and the reward, as we humbly hope, of a holy religion; and when it was laid aside, in the days of Queen Mary, it was 'to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion:' they are the words of Queen Elizabeth, and her grave and wise parliament.

19. Archbishop Cranmer, in his purgation, A.D. 1553, made an offer, if the queen would give him leave, to prove all that is contained in the Common Prayer-book, to be conformable to that order which our blessed Saviour, Christ, did both observe and command to be observed. And a little after, he offers to join issue upon this point, that the order of the Church of England, set out by authority of the innocent and godly prince Edward VI., in his high court of parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years past.

20. And I shall go near to make his words good. For very much of our liturgy is the very words of Scripture. The psalms, and lessons, and all the hymns, save one, are nothing else but Scripture, and owe nothing to the Roman breviaries for their production or authority. So that the matter of them is, out of question, holy and true: as for the form, none ever disliked it, but they that will admit no form; for all admit this that admit any. But that these should be parts of liturgy, needs not to be a question, when we remember, that Hezekiah and the princes made it a law to their church, to sing praises to the Lord "with the words of David, and of Asaph, the seer,"[d] and that Christ himself did so, and his apostles, after the manner of the Jews, in the feast of Passover, sung their hymns and portions of the great Allelujah in the words of David, and Asaph, the seer,[e] too, and that there was a song in heaven made up of the words of Moses, and David, and Jeremy, the seer, and that the apostles and the Church of God always chose to do so, according to the commandment of the apostle, that we sing psalms and hymns to God. I know not where we can have better than the Psalms of David and Asaph, and these were ready at hand for the use of the Church, insomuch, that in the Christian synaxes, particularly in the churches of Corinth, St. Paul observed that "every man had a psalm;" it was then the common devotion and liturgy of all the faithful, and so for ever; and the fathers of the fourth Council of Toledo justified the practice of the Church, in recitation of the psalms and hymns, by the example of Christ and his apostles, who, after supper, sung a psalm: and the Church did also make

[d] 2 Chron. xxix. [e] Apoc. xv. Exod. xv. Psalm cxlv. Jer. x. 6, 7.

hymns of her own, in the honour of Christ, and sung them: such as was the 'Te Deum,' made by St. Ambrose and St. Austin, and they stood her in great stead, not only as acts of direct worship to Christ, but as conservators of the articles of Christ's divinity, of which the fathers made use against the heretic Artemon, as appears in Eusebius, lib. v. c. 28, Eccles. Hist.

21. That reading the Scripture was part of the liturgy of the apostolical ages, we find it in the tenth canon of the Apostles, in Albinus Flaccus, Rabanus Maurus, and in the liturgy attributed to St. James. "Deinde leguntur fusissime oracula sacra Veteris Testamenti et Prophetarum, et Filii Dei incarnatio demonstratur, passio, resurrectio ex mortuis, ascensus in cœlum, secundus item adventus ejus cum gloria. Atque id fit singulis diebus," &c.

22. So that since thus far the matter of our devotions is warranted by God's Spirit, and the form by the precedents of Scripture too, and the ages apostolical, above half of the English liturgy is as Divine as Scripture itself, and the choice of it for practice is no less than apostolical.

23. Of the same consideration is the Lord's prayer, commanded by our blessed Saviour in two evangelists; the 'introit' is the Psal. xcv., and the responsories of morning and evening prayer, ejaculations taken from the words of David and Hezekiah; the decalogue recited in the communion is the ten words of Moses, and without peradventure, was not taken into the office in imitation of the Roman; for although it was done upon great reason, and considering the great ignorance of the people they were to inform, yet I think it was never in any church-office before, but in manuals and catechisms only: yet they are made liturgic by the suffrages at the end of every commandment, and need no other warrant from antiquity but the twentieth chapter of Exodus. There are not many parts beside, and they which are, derive themselves from an elder house than the Roman offices; the Gloria Patri was composed by the Nicene Council, the latter versicle by St. Jerome, though some eminently learned, and, in particular, Baronius, is of opinion that it was much more ancient. It was, at first, a confession of faith, and used by a newly baptized convert and the standers by; and then it came to be a hymn, and very early annexed to the antiphons,

and afterwards to the psalms and hymns, all except that of St. Ambrose beginning with 'Te Deum,' because that of itself is a great doxology. It is seven times used in the Greek office of baptism, and in the recitation of it the priest and people stood all up and turned to the east; and this custom ever continued in the Church, and is still retained in the Church of England, in conformity to the ancient and primitive custom, save only that in the litany we kneel, which is a more humble posture, but not so ancient,—the litanies having usually been said walking, not kneeling or standing. But in this the variety is an ornament to the Church's garment. St. Gregory added this doxology to the responsory at the beginning of prayer, after "O Lord, make haste to help us:" that was the last, and yet above a thousand years old, and much older than the body of popery. And as for the latter part of the doxology, I am clearly of opinion, that though it might, by St. Jerome, be brought into the Latin Church, yet it was in the Greek Church before him; witness that most ancient hymn or doxology, Καί σοι τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. However, as to the matter of the doxology, it is no other than the confession of the three most blessed persons of the Trinity, which Christ commanded, and which, with greatest solemnity, we declare in baptism; and certainly we can noways better, or more solemnly and ritually, give glory to the Holy Trinity, than by being baptized into the profession and service of it. The trisagion was taught to the Greek Church by angels; but certain it is, it sprang not from a Roman fountain; and that the canon of our communion is the same with the old canon of the Church, many hundred years before popery had invaded the simplicity of Christian religion, is evident, if we compare the particulars recited by St. Basil,[f] Innocentius's[g] epistle to John, archbishop of Lyons,—Honorius,[h] the priest, Alcuinus,[i] and Walafridus Strabo;[k] and if we will, we may add the liturgy said to be St. James's, and the constitution of St. Clement[l] (for whoever was the author of

[f] De Spirit. Sanct. c. 27.
[g] De Celebratione Missarum, c. cum Matth.
[h] In Gemma Animi, lib. i. c. 86.
[i] De Divin. Offic.
[k] Super Act. 20. Una autem Sabbati.
[l] Lib. viii. c. 17.

these, certainly they were ancient), Radulphus Tongrensis; and the later ritualists, Cassander, Pamelius, Hittorpius, Jacobus Goar, and the rest.

24. And that we may be yet more particular, the very prayer for Christ's catholic Church, in the office of communion, beside that it is nothing but a plain execution of an apostolical precept, set down in the preface of the prayer, it was also used in all times, and in all liturgies of the ancient Church. And we find this attested by St. Cyril of Jerusalem;[m] "Deinde postquam confectum est illud spirituale sacrificium obsecramus Deum pro communi ecclesiarum pace, pro tranquillitate mundi, pro regibus," &c. To the same purpose also there is a testimony in St. Chrysostom, which because it serves not only here, but also to other uses, it will not be amiss here to note it: "Quid autem sibi vult *primum omnium?* In obsequio scilicet quotidiano, perpetuoque divinæ religionis ritu. Atque id noverunt fideles, quomodo diebus singulis, mane et vespere, orationes fundantur ad Dominum; quomodo pro omni mundo et regibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate positi sunt, obsecrationes in ecclesia fiant. Sed forte quis dixerit, *pro omnibus* quod ait, tantum fideles intelligi voluisse. At id verum non esse quæ sequuntur, ostendunt. Denique ait, *pro regibus;* neque enim tunc reges Deum colebant." It is evident by this, that the custom of the Church was, not only in the celebration of the holy communion, but in all her other offices, to say this prayer, not only for Christ's catholic Church, but for all the world.

25. And that the charity of the church might not be misconstrued, he produces his warrant. St. Paul not only expressly commands us to pray 'for all men,' but adds, by way of instance, 'for kings,' who then were unchristian, and heathen in all the world. But this form of prayer is almost word for word in St. Ambrose. "Hæc regula ecclesiastica est tradita à magistro gentium, qua utuntur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus supplicent—deprecantes pro regibus—orantes pro iis quibus sublimis potestas credita est, ut in justitia et veritate gubernent—postulantes pro iis qui in necessitate varia sunt, ut eruti et liberati Deum collaudent incolumitatis autorem."[o] So far goes our form of prayer. But St. Am-

[m] Mystagog. Catech. v. [n] Hom. 6. in 1 Epist. ad Tim.
[o] In Comment.

brose adds, "Referentes quoque gratiarum actiones." And so it was with us in the first service-books of King Edward, and the preface to the prayer engages us to a thanksgiving; but I know not how it was stolen out, the preface still remaining, to chide their unwariness that took down that part of the building, and yet left the gate standing. But if the reader please to be satisfied concerning this prayer, which, indeed, is the longest in our service-book, and of greatest consideration, he may see it taken up from the universal custom of the Church, and almost in all the words of the old liturgies, if he will observe the liturgies themselves, of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the concurrent testimonies of Tertullian,[p] St. Austin,[q] Celestine,[r] Gennadius,[s] Prosper,[t] and Theophylact.[u]

26. I shall not need to make any excuses for the Church's reading those portions of Scripture, which we call epistles and gospels, before the communion. They are Scriptures of the choicest and most profitable transaction. And let me observe this thing, that they are not only declarations of all the mysteries of our redemption, and rules of good life, but this choice is of the greatest compliance with the necessities of the Christian Church that can be imagined. For, if we deny to the people a liberty of reading Scriptures, may they not complain, as Isaac did against the inhabitants of the land, that the Philistines had spoiled his well, and the fountains of living water? if a free use to all of them, and of all Scriptures, were permitted, should not the Church herself have more cause to complain of the infinite licentiousness and looseness of interpretations, and of the commencement of ten thousand errors, which would certainly be consequent to such permission? Reason and religion will chide us in the first, reason and experience in the latter. And can the wit of man conceive a better temper and expedient, than that such Scriptures only or principally should be laid before them all in daily offices, which contain in them all the mysteries of our redemption, and all the rules of good life? which two things are done by the gospels, and epistles respectively: the first being a record of the life and death

[p] Apologet. c. xiv. [q] Ep. 59. ad Paulin. [r] Ep. 1.
[s] De Dogmat. Eccles. cap. xxx. [t] Lib. i. de Vocat. Gent. c. 4.
[u] In Comment.

of our blessed Saviour; the latter, instructions for the edification of the Church, in pious and Christian conversation; and all this was done with so much choice, that as obscure places are avoided by design, as much as could be, so the very assignation of them to certain festivals, the appropriation of them to solemn and particular days, does entertain the understandings of the people with notions proper to the mystery, and distinct from impertinent and vexatious questions. And were this design made something more minute, and applicable to the various necessities of times, and such choice Scriptures permitted indifferently, which might be matter of necessity and great edification, the people of the Church would have no reason to complain that the fountains of our Saviour were stopped from them,—nor the rulers of the Church, that the mysteriousness of Scripture were abused by the petulance of the people to consequents harsh, impious, and unreasonable, in despite of government, in exauctoration of the power of superiors, or for the commencement of schisms and heresies. The Church, with great wisdom, hath first held this torch out; and, though, for great reasons intervening and hindering, it cannot be reduced to practice, yet the Church hath shewn her desire to avoid the evil that is on both hands, and she hath shewn the way also, if it could have been insisted in. But, however, this choice of the more remarkable portions of Scripture is so reasonable and proportionable to the nature of the thing, that, because the gospels and epistles bear their several shares of the design, (the gospel representing the foundation, and prime necessities of Christianity, and the mysterious parts of our redemption, the sum, the faith, and the hopes of Christianity) therefore, it is attested by a ceremony of standing up, it being a part of the confession of faith: but the epistles containing superstructures upon that foundation, are read with religious care, but not made formal or solemn by any other circumstance. The matter contains in it sufficient of reason and of proportion, but nothing of necessity, except it be by accident, and as authority does intervene by way of sanction.

27. But that this reading of epistles and gospels before the communion, was one of the earliest customs of the

Church, I find it affirmed by Rabanus Maurus.[x] "Sed enim initio mos iste cantandi non erat, qui nunc in ecclesia ante sacrificium celebratur: sed tamen epistolæ Pauli recitabantur, et sanctum evangelium;—The custom of reading St. Paul's epistles, and the holy gospel before the sacrament, was from the beginning." Some other portions of Scripture were read, upon emergent occasions, instead of the epistle, which still retain the name of epistle; but it is so seldom, that it happens upon two Sundays only in the year; upon Trinity Sunday, and the twenty-fifth Sunday after: upon saints' days it happens oftener, because the story requires a particular rememoration, and, therefore, is very often taken out of the Acts of the Apostles; but being in substitution only of the ordinary portion of the epistle of St. Paul, or other the apostles, it keeps the name of the first design, though the change be upon good reason, and much propriety.

28. There remains now nothing but the litany and collects to be accounted for: for the matter of which, I shall need to say nothing, because the objections whatsoever have been against them, are extremely low, and rather like the intemperate talk of an angry child, than pressures of reason or probability, excepting where they are charged with their virtues, for their charity in praying for all men, for their humility in acknowledging such a worthlessness in ourselves as not to dare to ask our petitions upon our own confidences. These things fall like water against a rock, or like the accusations against our blessed Saviour; the unreasonableness of them splits themselves.

29. But for the form, I think themselves will make answer, when they consider that they are nothing but a pursuit of that apostolical precept, which, next to the Lord's prayer, was the first Scripture pattern, whence the Church framed her liturgies. "First of all, let there be made intercessions, and prayers, and supplications, and giving of thanks for all men."[y] In which words, if there be not an impertinent repetition of divers words to the same sense, then needs must δεήσεις, προσευχαί, ἐντεύξεις, be as much distinct from each other in their form, as they are all from Εὐχαριστίαι·

[x] Institut. Cleric. lib. i. c. 32. [y] 1 Tim. ii.

30. St. Austin expounds προσευχὰς, 'prayers made in and about the blessed eucharist.' "Ideo in hujus sanctificatione et distributionis præparatione existimo apostolum jussisse proprie fieri προσευχὰς, id est, orationes. Interpellationes autem vel postulationes fiunt, cum populus benedicitur."[a]

31. But St. Austin, if he were not deceived in his criticism, says, that besides the general name of prayer, which is signified by all those words, εὐχὴ in Scripture signifies 'votum' or desire, such surely as we express by sudden and short emissions, and then προσευχὴ is but a prayer, πρὸς εὐχὴν, that is, but an expression of short and ejaculatory desires, and may be better applied to such forms of prayer as are our collects, rather than the longer and more solemn parts of the canon of communion. Ἔντευξις, though it signifies an address to God, yet it may with propriety enough be applied to our interlocutory prayers where the people bear a share; for ἐντεύξεις signifies 'congressum' or 'colloquium,' τὰς ἐντεύξεις μὴ πυκνὰς ποιοῦ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Isocrates:—"Make no frequent societies or confederations with them." However, although grammarians may differ in assigning these several words to their proper, minute, and incommunicable signification, yet it is most clear, that they mean not prayers distinct, and made several by the variety of matter, but several addresses differing only 'in modo orandi,' and, therefore, by these are intended the several forms of prayer and supplication: and the Church hath at all times used prayers of all variety, long and short, ejaculatory, determined, and solemn. And the Church of England understood it in this variety, calling the short ejaculatory prayers and responsories by the names of litanies, or suffrages, which I should render in the phrase of St. Austin to be 'postulationes,' or δεήσεις; but the longer collects he calls 'prayers,' which is the true rendering of προσευχὰς, I suppose; and, therefore, twice in the litany, after the short responsories, the priest says, "let us pray," by that, minding the people of the apostles' precept, that 'prayer as well as 'supplications' be made. For the litanies it is certain, the form is of great antiquity; Mamercus, bishop of Vienna, made solemn litanies, four hundred years after Christ,

[a] Epist. 59. ad Paulin. q. 5.

and he and all his diocese repeated them together: and, therefore, I know not what matter of doubt there can be reasonable in the form, since, besides that we have the wisdom of so many ages, and holy and prudent persons to confirm them, the form is made with design to represent all the needs of the catholic Church, and to make the prayer itself fitted for an active and an intense devotion; and that it co-operates rarely well to these ends, is so true, that of the first, every man is judge,—of the second, every man may be judge that will, without prejudice, and with pious predispositions, use the form; for, if they help my devotion infinitely, they may do as much to another, if he be disposed as I am; and he that says they do no advantage, or singular relish to my spirit, may as well tell me the meat I eat does not please me, because he loves it not; but the exceptions which are against it are so fantastic, and by chance, that, unless it be against a single adversary, and by personal engagement, they cannot be noted in the series of a positive discourse. Sometimes they are too long, and sometimes they are too short, and yet the objectors will make longer and shorter when they please; and, because no law of God hath prescribed to us in such circumstances, if the Church leaves the same liberty to their private devotions, it is not reasonable they should prescribe to her in public, and in such minutes, in which the ordinary prudence of one wise man is abundantly sufficient to give him laws and directions, and in matters of greater difficulty.

32. Of the same consideration is the form of our church collects, which are made pleasant by their variety of matter,—are made energetical and potent by that great endearment of 'per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum,'—are cleared from a neighbourhood of tediousness by their so quick intercision and breakings off,—and have for their precedent the forms of prayer used by the religious of Palestine mentioned by Cassian; "Et hæ fuerunt monachorum jaculatoriæ orationes, ut frequentius Dominum deprecantes jugiter eidem cohærere possimus, et ut insidiantis diaboli jacula, quæ infligere nobis tum præcipue insistit cum oramus, succinctâ vitemus brevitate."[a] In all these forms of prayer there is no difference but

[a] De Institut. Cleric. lib. i. c. 32.

what is circumstantial; and, therefore, although these circumstances be of great efficacy for the procuring of accidental advantages to our spirits, which are often swayed, moved, and determined by a manner, as much as by an essence, yet there is in it nothing of duty and obligation; and, therefore, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to make any of these things to be a question of religion.

33. I shall therefore press these things no further, but note that since all liturgy is, and ever was, either prose or verse,—or both, and the liturgy of the Church of England, as well as most others, is of the last sort,—I consider that whatsoever is in her devotions besides the lessons, epistles, and gospels (the body of which is no other thing, than was the famous 'lectionarium' of St. Jerome), is a compliance with these two dictates of the apostle for liturgy: the which, one for verse, the other for prose, 'in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs,' for verse; for prose, 'deprecations, and prayers, and intercessions, and giving of thanks,'—will warrant and commend, as so many parts of duty, all the portions of the English liturgy.

34. If it were worth the pains, it were very easy to enumerate the authors, and especially the occasions and time when the most minute passages, such I mean as are known by distinct appellatives, came into the Church; that so it may appear, our liturgy is as ancient and primitive in every part, as it is pious and unblamable, and long before the Church got such a beam in one of her eyes, which was endeavoured to be cast out at the reformation. But it will not be amiss to observe, that very many of them were inserted as antidotes and deletories to the worst of heresies, as I have discoursed already: and such was that clause, "Through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, ever one God;" and some other phrases parallel were put in, in defiance of the Macedonians, and all the species of the anti-trinitarians, and used by St. Ambrose in Milan, St. Austin in Africa, and Idacius Clarus in Spain; and in imitation of so pious precedents, the Church of England hath inserted divers clauses into her offices.

35. There was a great instance in the administration of the blessed sacrament. For upon the change of certain clauses in the liturgy, upon the instance of Martin Luther,

instead of 'the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for you, preserve your body and soul unto everlasting life,' was substituted this, 'Take and eat this in remembrance,' &c.; and it was done lest the people, accustomed to the opinion of transubstantiation and the appendant practices, should retain the same doctrine upon intimation of the first clause. But, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when certain persons of the Zuinglian opinion would have abused the Church with sacramentary doctrine, and pretended the Church of England had declared for it in the second clause of 1552, the wisdom of the Church thought it expedient to join both the clauses; the first, lest the Church should be suspected to be of the sacramentary opinion; the latter, lest she should be mistaken as a patroness of transubstantiation; and both these with so much temper and sweetness, that by her care she rather prevented all mistakes, than, by any positive declaration in her prayers, engaged herself upon either side, that she might pray to God, without strife and contention with her brethren. For the Church of England had never known how to follow the names of men, but to call Christ only, 'her Lord and Master.'

36. But from the inserting of these and the like clauses, which hath been done in all ages, according to several opportunities and necessities, I shall observe this advantage, which is in many, but is also very signally in the English liturgy; we are thereby enabled and advantaged in the meditation of those mysteries, "de quibus festivatur in sacris," as the casuists love to speak;—which, upon solemn days, we are bound to meditate, and make to be the matter and occasion of our address to God; for the offices are so ordered, that the most indifferent and careless cannot but be reminded of the mystery in every anniversary, which, if they be summed up, will make an excellent creed: and then let any man consider what a rare advantage it will be to the belief of such propositions, when the very design of the holiday teaches the hard-handed artisan the name and meaning of an article, and yet the most forward and religious cannot be abused with any semblances of superstition. The life and death of the saints, which is very precious in the eyes of God, is so remembered by his humble and afflicted handmaid, the Church of England, that by giving him thanks and praise, God may

be honoured, the Church instructed by the proposition of their example, and we give testimony of the honour and love we owe and pay unto religion, by the pious veneration and esteem of those holy and beatified persons.

37. Certain it is that there is no part of religion, as it is a distinct virtue, and is to be exercised by interior acts and forms of worship, but is in the offices of the Church of England. For if the soul desires to be humbled, she hath provided forms of confession to God before his Church; if she will rejoice and give God thanks for particular blessings, there are forms of thanksgiving described and added, by the king's authority, upon the conference at Hampton Court, which are all the public, solemn, and foreseen occasions, for which, by law and order, provision could be made. If she will commend to God the public and private necessities of the Church, and single persons, the whole body of collects and devotions supplies that abundantly: if her devotion be high and pregnant, and prepared to fervency and importunity of congress with God, the litanies are an admirable pattern of devotion, full of circumstances proportionable for a quick and an earnest spirit: when the revolution of the anniversary calls on us to perform our duty of special meditation, and thankfulness to God for the glorious benefits of Christ's incarnation, nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension (blessings which do as well deserve a day of thanksgiving as any other temporal advantage, though it be the pleasure of a victory), then we have the offices of Christmas, the Annunciation, Easter, and Ascension: if we delight to remember those holy persons, whose bodies rest in the bed of peace, and whose souls are deposited in the hands of Christ till the day of restitution of all things, we may, by the collects and days of anniversary-festivity, not only remember, but also imitate them too in our lives, if we will make that use of the proportions of Scripture allotted for the festival which the Church intends: to which if we add the advantages of the whole psalter, which is an entire body of devotion by itself, and hath in it forms to exercise all graces by way of internal act and spiritual intention,—there is not any ghostly advantage which the most religious can either need or fancy, but the English liturgy in its entire constitution will furnish us withal. And certainly it was a very great wisdom, and a

very prudent and religious constitution, so to order that part of the liturgy, which the ancients called the 'lectionarium,' that the psalter should be read over twelve times in the year, the Old Testament once, and the New Testament thrice, beside the epistles and gospels, which renew, with a more frequent repetition, such choice places as represent the entire body of faith and good life. There is a defalcation of some few chapters from the entire body of the order; but that also was part of the wisdom of the Church, not to expose to public ears and common judgments some of the secret rites of Moses' law, or the more mysterious prophecies of the New Testament, whose sense and meaning the event will declare, if we, by mistaken and anticipated interpretations, do not obstruct our own capacities, and hinder us from believing the true events, because they answer not those expectations, with which our own mistakes have prepared our understandings; as it happened to the Jews in the case of Antiochus, and to the Christians in the person of Antichrist.

38. Well: thus as it was framed in the body of its first constitution and second alteration, those excellent men whom God chose as instruments of his honour and service in the reformation, to whom also he did shew what great things they were to suffer for his name's sake, approved of it with high testimony, promoted it by their own use and zeal, and at last sealed it with their blood.

39. That they had a great opinion of the piety and unblamable composure of the Common Prayer-book, appears, 1. in the challenge made in its behalf by the Archbishop Cranmer, to defend it against all the world of enemies; 2. by the daily using it in time of persecution and imprisonment; for so did Bishop Ridley, and Doctor Taylor, who also recommended it to his wife for a legacy; 3. by their preaching in behalf of it, as many did; 4. by Hulliers' hugging it in his flames, with a posture of great love and forwardness of entertainment; 5. besides the direct testimony which the most eminent learned amongst the Queen Mary martyrs have given of it. Amongst which, that of the learned rector of Hadley, Doctor Rowland Taylor, is most considerable; his words are these in a letter of his to a friend: "But there was after that, by the most innocent King Edward, (for whom God be praised everlastingly!) the whole church-service, with great

deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men of the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm: which book was never reformed but once, and yet, by that one reformation, it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion, in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained: I mean of that book reformed."[b]

40. I desire the words may be considered and confronted against some other words lately published, which charge these holy and learned men but with a half-faced light, a darkness in the confines of Egypt and the suburbs of Goshen. And because there is no such thing proved of these blessed men and martyrs, and that it is easy to say such words of any man that is not fully of our mind, I suppose the advantage and the out-weighing authority will lie on our part, in behalf of the Common Prayer-book, especially since this man, and divers others, died with it and for it, according as it happened by the circumstance of their charges and articles, upon which they died; for so it was in the cases of John Rough, John Philpot, Cuthbert Simson, and seven others, burnt in Smithfield;[c] upon whom it was charged in their indictments, that they used, allowed, preached for, and maintained respectively, the service-book of King Edward. To which articles they answered affirmatively, and confessed them to be true in every part, and died accordingly.

41. I shall press this argument to issue, in the words of St. Ambrose, cited to the like purpose by Vincentius Lirinensis: "Librum sacerdotalem quis nostrum resignare audeat, signatum à confessoribus, et multorum jam martyrio consecratum? Quomodo fidem eorum possumus denegare, quorum victoriam prædicamus?[d]—Who shall dare to violate this priestly book, which so many confessors have consigned, and so many martyrs have hallowed with their blood? How shall we call them martyrs, if we deny their faith? how shall we celebrate their victory, if we dislike their cause?" If we believe them to be crowned, why shall we deny but that they "strove lawfully?" So that if they, dying in attest-

[b] Acts and Monuments, pp. 1383, 1608, 1665, 1840, 1844, et alibi.
[c] Pp. 1848, 1649, 1840.
[d] Contra Hæres. c. vii.

ation of this book, were martyrs, why do we condemn the book for which they died? If we will not call them martyrs, it is clear we have changed our religion since then. And then it would be considered whether we are fallen; for the reformers in King Edward's time died for it, in Queen Elizabeth's time they avowed it under the protection of an excellent princess; but, in that sad interval of Queen Mary's reign, it suffered persecution: and if it shall do so again, it is but an unhandsome compliance for reformers to be unlike their brethren, and to be like their enemies, to do as do the papists, and only to speak great words against them; and it will be sad for a zealous protestant to live in an age that should disavow King Edward's and Queen Elizabeth's religion and manner of worshipping God, and in an age that shall do as did Queen Mary's bishops, persecute the book of Common Prayer, and the religion contained in it. God help the poor protestants in such times: but let it do its worst; if God please to give his grace, the worst than can come is but a crown, and that was never denied to martyrs.

42. In the meantime, I can but with joy and eucharist consider with what advantages and blessings the pious protestant is entertained, and blessed, and armed against all his needs, by the constant and religious usage of the Common Prayer-book: for besides the direct advantages of the prayers and devotions, some whereof are already instanced,—and the experience of holy persons will furnish them with more,—there are also forms of solemn benediction and absolution in the offices; and if they be not highly considerable, there is nothing sacred in the evangelical ministry, but all is a vast plain, and the altars themselves are made of unhallowed turf.

43. Concerning benediction (of which there are four more solemn forms in the whole office, two in the canon of the communion, one in confirmation, one in the office of marriage) I shall give this short account, that, "without all question, the less is blessed of the greater," and it being an issue spiritual, is rather to be verified in spiritual relation than in natural or political. And, therefore, if there be any such thing as 'regeneration' by the ministry of the word, and 'begetting in Christ,' and fathers, and sons after the common faith (as the expressions of the apostles make us to believe),

certain it is, the blessings of religion do descend most properly from our spiritual fathers, and with most plentiful emanation. And this hath been the religion of all the world, to derive very much of their blessings by the priest's particular and signal ministration: Melchisedech blessed Abraham, Isaac blessed Jacob, and Moses and Aaron blessed the people. So that here is benediction from a prince, from a father, from the Aaronical priest, from Melchisedech, of whose order is the Christian, in whose law it is a sanction, that, in great needs especially, "the elders of the Church be sent for, and let them pray over him that is distressed." That is the 'great remedy' for the 'great necessity.' And it was ever much valued in the Church, insomuch that Nectarius would, by no means, take investiture of his patriarchial see, until he had obtained the benediction of Diodorus, the bishop of Cilicia. Eudoxia, the empress, brought her son Theodosius to St. Chrysostom, for his blessing; and St. Austin and all his company received it of Innocentius, bishop of Carthage. It was so solemn in all marriages, that the marrying of persons was called 'benediction.' So it was in the fourth Council of Carthage; "Sponsus et sponsa cum benedicendi sunt à sacerdote," &c., *benedicendi* for *married*. And in all church offices it was so solemn, that, by a decree of the Council of Agatho, A.D. 380, it was decreed, "Ante benedictionem sacerdotis, populus egredi non præsumat." By the way only, here is *αὐθεντία* for two parts of the English liturgy: for the benediction in the office of marriage, by the authority of the Council of Carthage; and for concluding the office of communion with the priest's or bishop's benediction, by warrant of the council of Agatho; which decrees, having been derived into the practice of the universal Church for very many ages, is in no hand to be undervalued, lest we become like Esau, and we miss it when we most need it. For my own particular, I shall still press on to receive the benediction of holy Church, till at last I shall hear a "Venite, benedicti," and that I be reckoned amongst those blessed souls, who come to God by the ministries of his own appointment, and will not venture upon that neglect, against which the piety and wisdom of all religions in the world infinitely do prescribe.

44. Now the advantages of confidence, which I have upon the forms of benediction in the Common Prayer-book, are

therefore considerable, because God himself prescribed a set form of blessing the people, appointing it to be done, not in the priest's extempore, but in an established form of words;* and because, as the authority of a prescript form is from God, so that this form may be also highly warranted, the solemn blessing, at the end of the communion, is in the very words of St. Paul.

45. For the forms of absolution in the liturgy, though I shall not enter into consideration of the question concerning the quality of the priest's power, which is certainly a very great ministry; yet I shall observe the rare temper and proportion, which the Church of England uses in commensurating the forms of absolution to the degrees of preparation and necessity. At the beginning of the morning and evening prayer, after a general confession, usually recited before the devotion is high and pregnant, whose parts like fire enkindle one another,—there is a form of absolution in general declarative, and by way of proposition. In the office of the communion, because there are more acts of piety and repentance previous and presupposed, there the Church's form of absolution is optative and by way of intercession. But in the visitation of the sick, when it is supposed and enjoined that the penitent shall disburden himself of all the clamorous loads upon his conscience, the Church prescribes a medicinal form by way of delegate authority, that the parts of justification may answer to the parts of good life. For as the penitent proceeds, so does the Church; pardon and repentance being terms of relation, they grow up together till they be complete: this the Church, with the greatest wisdom, supposes to be at the end of our life, grace by that time having all its growth that it will have here; and, therefore, then also the pardon of sins is of another nature than it ever was before, it being now more actual and complete; whereas, before, it was 'in fieri,' in the beginnings and smaller increases, and upon more accidents apt to be made imperfect and revocable. So that the Church of England, in these manners of dispensing the power of the keys, does cut off all disputings and impertinent wranglings, whether the priest's power were judicial or declarative; for possibly it is both, and it is

* Num. vi. 23.

optative too; and something else yet, for it is an emanation from all the parts of his ministry, and he never absolves, but he preaches or prays, or administers a sacrament; for this power of remission is a transcendent, passing through all the parts of the priestly offices; for the keys of the kingdom of heaven are the promises and the threatenings of the Scripture, and the prayers of the Church, and the word, and the sacraments, and all these are to be dispensed by the priest, and these keys are committed to his ministry,—and by the operation of them all, he opens and shuts heaven's gates ministerially; and, therefore, St. Paul calls it 'verbum reconciliationis,' and says it is dispensed by ministers, as by 'ambassadors' or delegates: and, therefore, it is an excellent temper of the Church, so to prescribe her forms of absolution, as to shew them to be results of the whole priestly office, of preaching, of dispensing sacraments, of spiritual cure, and authoritative deprecation. And the benefit which pious and well disposed persons receive by these public ministries, as it lies ready formed in our blessed Saviour's promise 'erit solutum in cœlis,' so men will then truly understand, when they are taught to value every instrument of grace or comfort by the exigence of a present need, as in a sadness of spirit, in an unquiet conscience, in the arrest of death.

46. I shall not need to procure advantages to the reputation of the common-prayer, by considering the imperfections of whatsoever hath been offered in its stead: but yet[f] 1. A form of worship, composed to the dishonour of the reformation, accusing it of darkness, and intolerable inconvenience: 2. A direction without a rule: 3. A rule without restraint: 4. A prescription leaving an indifference to a possibility of licentiousness: 5. An office without any injunction of external acts of worship, not prescribing so much as kneeling: 6. An office that only once names reverence, but forbids it in the ordinary instance, and enjoins it in no particular: 7. An office that leaves the form of ministration of sacraments so indifferently, that if there be any form of words essential, the sacrament is in much danger to become invalid, for want of provision of due forms of ministration: 8. An office that complies with no precedent

[f] Directory.

of Scripture, nor of any ancient church: 9. That must of necessity either want authority, or it must prefer novelty before antiquity: 10. That accuses all the Primitive Church of indiscretion, at the least: 11. That may be abused by the indiscretion, or ignorance, or malice of any man that uses it: 12. Into which heresy or blasphemy may creep without possibility of prevention: 13. That hath no external forms to entertain the fancy of the more common spirits: 14. Nor any allurement to persuade and entice its adversaries: 15. Nor any means of adunation and uniformity amongst its confidents: 16. An office that still permits children, in many cases of necessity, to be unbaptized, making no provision for them in sudden cases: 17. That will not suffer them to be confirmed at all, 'Ut utroque sacramento renascantur,' as St. Cyprian's phrase is, 'that they may be advantaged by a double rite:' 18. That joins in marriage as Cacus did his oxen, in rude, inform, and unhallowed yokes: 19. That will not do piety to the dead, nor comfort to the living, by solemn and honorary offices of funeral; 20. That hath no forms of blessing the people, any more 21. than *described* forms of blessing God, which are just none at all: 22. An office that never thinks of absolving penitents, or exercising the power of the keys, after the custom and rites of priests: 23. A liturgy that recites no creed, no confession of faith, so, not declaring, either to angels or men, according to what religion they worship God; but entertaining, though indeed without a symbol, Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Manichees, or any other sect, for ought there appears to the contrary: 24. That consigns no public canon of communion, but leaves that as casual and fantastic as any of the lesser offices: 25. An office that takes no more care than chance does, for the reading the Holy Scriptures: 26. That never commemorates a departed saint: 27. That hath no communion with the Church triumphant, any more than with the other parts of the militant: 28. That never thanks God for the redemption of the world by the nativity, and passion, resurrection, and ascension of our blessed Saviour Jesus; but condemns the memorial even of the Scripture-saints, and the memorial of the miraculous blessings of redemption of mankind by Christ himself; with the same accusation it condemns the legends and portentous stories of the most

suspected part of the Roman calendar: 29. An office that, out of zeal against Judaism, condemns all distinction of days, unless they themselves distinguish them: that leaves no signature of piety, upon the Lord's day, and yet the compilers do enjoin it to a Judaical superstition: 30. An office that does by implication undervalue the Lord's prayer, for it never enjoins it, and does but once permit it: 31. An office that is new without authority, and never made up into a sanction by an act of parliament: an order or directory of devotion, that hath all these ingredients and capacities (and such a one there is in the world), I suppose is no equal match to contest with and be put in balance against the liturgy of the Church of England, which was with so great deliberation compiled out of Scriptures, the most of it; all the rest agreeing with Scriptures, and drawn from the liturgies of the ancient Church, and made by men famous in their generations, whose reputation and glory of martyrdom hath made it immodest for the best of men now to compare themselves with them: and after its composition, considered by advices from abroad, and so trimmed and adorned, that no excrescency did remain; the rubrics of which book was writ in the blood of many of the compilers, which hath had a testimony from God's blessing in the daily use of it, accompanying it with the peace of an age, established and confirmed by six acts of parliament directly and collaterally, and is of so admirable a composure, that the most industrious wits of its enemies could never find out an objection of value enough to make a doubt, or scarce a scruple, in a wise spirit. But that I shall not need to set a night-piece by so excellent a beauty, to set it off the better,—its own excellences are orators prevalent enough, that it shall not need any advantages accidental.

47. And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a penknife, and thrown into the fire, but it is not consumed; at first, it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers, and the Church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness; but it is to be hoped, that all these

storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the Church of England. Indeed, the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer-book had, was the indifference and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing; and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, — though they might innocently intend it, yet did not, in that action, consult the honour of our liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and an actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least, that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession.

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* 48. But because things are otherwise in this affair than we had hoped, and that, in very many churches, instead of the common-prayer which they use not, every man uses what he pleases, and all men do not choose well; and where there are so many choosers, there is nothing regular, and the sacraments themselves are not so solemnly ministered as the sacredness and solemnity of the mysteries do require, and in very many places, where the old excellent forms are not permitted, there is scarce any thing at all, but something to shew there was a shipwreck, a plank or a cable, a chapter or a psalm: some who were troubled to see it so, and fain would see it otherwise, did think it might not be amiss that some of the ancient forms of other churches, and of the prayers of Scripture, should be drawn together, and laid before them that need; as supposing that these or the like materials would make better fuel for the fires of devotion, than the straw and the stubble which some men did suddenly or weakly rake together, whenever they were to dress their sacrifice. Now, although these prayers have no

* This Preface being, in every respect, the same as that which is prefixed to the "Collection of Offices," with the exception of this and the following paragraph, they have been added here, to supersede the necessity of reprinting the whole with the "Collection of Offices."

authority to give them power, yet they are humbly and charitably intended, and that may get them love, and they have been (as to the matter of them) approved by persons of great learning, and great piety; and that may sufficiently recommend them to the use of those who have no other, or no better; and they no way do violence to authority, and, therefore, the use of them cannot be insecure; and they contain in them no matter of question or dispute, and, therefore, cannot be justly suspected of interest or partiality: and they are (especially in the chiefest offices) collected out of the devotions of the Greek Church, with some mixture of the Mozarabic and Æthiopic, and other liturgies, and perfected out of the fountains of Scripture, and, therefore, for the material part, have great warrant and great authority: and, therefore, if they be used with submission to authority, it is hoped they may do good; and if they be not used, no man will be offended.

49. I hope there will be no need of an apology, or an excuse for doing an act of charity; if no man will confess that he needs any of these, they can be let alone, for they are intended only for them that do; but if there be a need, these prayers may help to obtain of God to take that need away, and to supply it in the meanwhile. But there is nothing else intended in this design, but that we may see what excellent forms of prayer were used in the ancient Church, what a rare repository of devotion the Scripture is, how it was the same spirit of prayer that assisted the Church of England, and other Churches of God, how much better the curates of souls may help themselves with these or the like offices, than with their own extempore; how their present needs may be supplied, and their devotion enlarged, and a day of religion entirely spent, and a provision made for some necessities, in which our calamities and our experience of late have too well instructed us. For which and for other great reasons, all churches have admitted variety of offices. In the Greek Church, it is notorious, they have three public books, and very many added afterwards by their patriarchs, ther bishops, and their priests; some are said often, and others sometimes: and in Spain, the Mozarabic office was used until the time of Alphonso VI.,

and to this very day, in six parishes in Toledo, and in the cathedral church itself, in the chapel of Friar Francis Ximenes; and at Salamanca, upon certain days, in the chapel of Doctor Talabricensis. And, after all, these may be admitted into the use and ministry of families, for all the necessities of which, here is something provided.

JER. TAYLOR.

A LETTER FROM JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

ADDRESSED TO

BISHOP LESLIE;

AND PREFIXED BY HIM TO HIS DISCOURSE ON PRAYING WITH THE SPIRIT AND UNDERSTANDING.

MY LORD,

I AM well pleased your Lordship hath consented to publish your excellent sermons concerning "Extempore Prayer." You preached them in a family, in which the public liturgy of the Church is greatly valued, and diligently used; but in a country, where most of the inhabitants are strangers to the thing, and enemies to the name; for so they are taught to be, having no other reason for that enmity, than because their preachers have blasted it with the breath of their displeasure. But, instead of this, they are fed with indeliberate, unstudied, sudden conceptions, begotten and born in the same minute, and, therefore, not likely to be better than all those other productions of the world, which, by being sudden and hasty, have an inevitable fate to be useless and good for nothing.

My Lord, I have often considered concerning the pretensions of those persons, who think no prayer is good if it be studied, and none spiritual unless it be 'ex tempore,' and that only such are made by the Spirit: and perceiving them to rely upon the expression of St. Paul, "I will pray with the spirit," I have thought that they as little study what they teach to men, as what they say to God; for if they did not understand with the spirit, in the same sense as they pray with the spirit, that is, without all study and consideration,

I am verily persuaded they would not have fallen upon this new and unheard-of practice: I say, 'unheard-of;' for it is a new thing, both to heathens, to Jews, and to Christians; and indeed, must be so, since, in the very nature of the thing itself, it appears to be infinitely unreasonable.

For what greater disparagement in the world can there be to him that speaks, or the thing spoken, than to say it was spoken rashly and inconsiderately? And, therefore, it was an excellent saying of one: "Oratio viri philosophi, sicut vita, debet esse composita;—every wise man's words should be composed and orderly as his life:" μετὰ πολλοῦ σκέψεως καὶ πόνου,—"with labour and consideration." And certain it is, if any man intends to speak well and wisely, he does not vomit out his answers, as a fool does secrets; he is sick till they are out, and when they are, they are loathsome. Of this I need say no more; but it is evident all such extempore prayers are likely to be less wise; and to use such ways of prayer, is against reason.

2. To do so is against the virtue of religion: it is doing the work of the Lord negligently, and, therefore, unpleasantly; and to this is to be imputed all those unhandsome issues of a sudden tongue, which so ill become religion, that they very often minister offence to wise and godly persons of all persuasions.

3. Hasty and unstudied prayers are against Scripture; expressly I say, against the word of God, whose Spirit hath commanded thus: "Be not rash with thy mouth, and be not hasty to utter any thing before God."[a] Now this commandment is plain and easy, and, therefore, not to be evacuated by any obscure and difficult pretences, from which no certain argument can arise. To which if we add, that St. Paul, amongst the characters of these of whom he prophesies evil things, reckons προπετεῖς,—"the hasty and heady people;"[b] I humbly conceive that these are the persons, in the New Testament, who break the commandment in the Old, and that they must have something else to defend them, than what hath yet appeared.

But, therefore, these our brethren pretend that the Spirit of God supplies all this; and, what is wanting in nature, is

[a] Eccl. v. 2. [b] 2 Tim. iii.

supplied by grace. To this I need to make no new replies, but only consider, that where there is an unavoidable necessity, we have reason to suppose we shall be helped: but we have no such need; we are taught in Scripture, by the Holy Spirit, what to pray and how to pray, and, beyond this assistance, we need nothing, save only that he be pleased to stir us up to pray; and for that also we have arguments and invitations sufficient in the Divine Scripture; and, I humbly conceive, it is one sort of tempting God, to call for extraordinary aids, when we are sufficiently provided for in ordinary; and I appeal to the piety and consciences of all Christian ministers, whether the Spirit of God hath not sufficiently enabled us, in all the parts and necessities of prayer, by the treasures of Holy Scripture? and, 2. whether, by reading and meditating in the Scriptures, we cannot obtain all the aid we need? and, 3. whether or no, do not those ministers that are supposed to pray best amongst them, most of all use the phrases and expressions of Scripture? and, 4. whether or no, are not such prayers undeniably the best which are taken thence?

4. But, that I need no further argument in this question, I appeal to the experience of this last age, in which extempore prayers have been born and bred, whether it can be reasonable to allow such sudden prayers to be productions of the Spirit, when we have heard many spiritual crimes expressed and promoted by such prayers, and by those that pretended to such gifts? the consequence of which is certainly this; that, to prove a man to pray with the Spirit, something else is required besides speaking extempore; and that this is not, therefore, it; because many do this, who do, like Ananias and Sapphira, ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα,—'belie, or falsely pretend the Spirit,' who cannot dictate false, heretical, rebellious, blasphemous, or ignorant propositions: and yet it is certain, if these men, who pray extempore, did pray with the Spirit; that is, if the Spirit of God did dictate those words; those prayers would be as good canonical Scripture, when they are written by the short-hand writers, as any of the Psalms of David, or the words of the apostles: which, because it is intolerable to affirm, it follows that praying with the Spirit means not extempore prayers.

5. I add but one thing more, and that is, that Dideclavium,

the great patron of our dissenting brethren, said, in his "Altare Damasceno," that the master of a family could not, without indecency, pray with such sudden conception before a family; and as wise a man as he said, "Nihil ordinatum est quod præcipitatur; properari sine indecoro non potest;[c] —There can be no order in sudden conception." Since, therefore, it is indecent and unorderly, let it be considered how such persons can observe the precept of the apostle: "Let all things," in the Church, "be done decently and in order."

If it be asked by any man, Whether it be unfit to use, in private, forms of our own composing? I answer, 'it may be very fit;' but this is because this rule of the apostle, which wholly relates to the public, is not a provision for the private, for decency is a relative term, and so is order; and, in private, we may deliberate upon our knees, but in public we cannot; and although we must, neither in public nor in private, speak hastily, rashly, or without sufficient deliberation, yet we may do that in private which, in public, we may not; and there we are only to avoid rashness and hastiness; but, in public, we must take care of order also, and of decency, and of edification of others, all which, by extempore prayers, cannot be well provided for; but, my Lord, I forget the purpose of my letter, which is to pay to your Lordship that just acknowledgment of your care of the Church's good, and the instruction of souls, which you have expressed in this material, plain, easy, and religious discourse, which, I pray God, may prove as profitable as it is rational, as useful as it is pious.

My Lord, I am

Your Lordship's

Most affectionate Brother and Servant,

J. T.

[c] Seneca.

AN

APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS OF LITURGY.

Χαρὴν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον ὄθειν καὶ μόνος ἱερεὺς ὁ σοφὸς λέγεται, μόνος θεοφιλὴς, ΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΔΩΣ ΕΤΧΑΣΘΑΙ· μόνος γὰρ ὅδε τιμᾶν, ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μὴ συγχέων τῶν τιμωμένων, καὶ ὁ πρόθυμος ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν προσάγων.—*Hierocl. in Pyth.* Needham, p. 24.

I HAVE read over this book, which the assembly of divines is pleased to call "The Directory for Prayer." I confess I came to it with much expectation, and was, in some measure, confident I should have found it an exact and unblamable model of devotion, free from all those objections which men of their own persuasion had obtruded against the public liturgy of the Church of England; or, at least, it should have been composed with so much artifice and fineness, that it might have been, to all the world, an argument of their learning and excellence of spirit, if not of the goodness and integrity of their religion and purposes. I shall give no other character of the whole, but that the public disrelish which I find amongst persons of great piety, of all qualities, not only of great, but even of ordinary understandings, is to me some argument that it lies so open to the objections even of common spirits, that the compilers of it did intend more to prevail by the success of their armies than the strength of reason, and the proper grounds of persuasion, which yet most wise and good men believe to be the more Christian way of the two. But because the judgment I made of it from an argument so extrinsical to the nature of the thing, could not reasonably enable me to satisfy those many persons, who, in their behalf, desired me to consider it, I resolved to

look upon it nearer, and to take its account from something that was ingredient to its constitution, 'that I might be able both to exhort and convince the gainsayers,' who refuse to hold fast πιστὸν λόγον κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν, that 'faithful word which they had been taught' by their mother, the Church of England.

2. I shall decline to speak of the efficient cause of this Directory, and not quarrel at it, that it was composed against the laws both of England and all Christendom. If the thing were good and pious, and did not, directly or accidentally, invade the rights of a just superior, I would learn to submit to the imposition, and never quarrel at the incompetency of his authority, that engaged me to do pious and holy things. And, it may be, when I am a little more used to it, I shall not wonder at a synod, in which not one bishop sits, in the capacity of a bishop, though I am most certain this is the first example in England since it was first christened. But, for the present, it seems something hard to digest it, because I know so well that all assemblies of the Church have admitted priests to consultation and dispute, but never to authority and decision, till the pope, enlarging the phylacteries of the archimandrites and abbots, did sometimes, by way of privilege and dispensation, give to some of them decisive voices in public councils; but this was one of the things in which he did innovate and invade against the public resolutions of Christendom, though he durst not do it often, and yet when he did it, it was in very small and inconsiderable numbers.

3. I said I would not meddle with the efficient, and I cannot meddle with the final cause, nor guess at any other ends and purposes of theirs, than at what they publicly profess, which is the abolition and destruction of the Book of Common-Prayer; which great change, because they are pleased to call reformation, I am content, in charity, to believe they think it so, and that they have 'zelum Dei,' but whether 'secundum scientiam,—according to knowledge' or no, must be judged by them who consider the matter and the form.

4. But because the matter is of so great variety and minute consideration, every part whereof would require as much scrutiny as I purpose to bestow upon the whole, I

have, for the present, chosen to consider only the form of it; concerning which, I shall give my judgment without any sharpness or bitterness of spirit; for I am resolved not to be angry with any men of another persuasion, as knowing that I differ just as much from them as they do from me.

5. The Directory takes away that form of prayer which, by the authority and consent of all the obliging power of the kingdom, hath been used and enjoined ever since the reformation. But this was done by men of differing spirits, and of disagreeing interests: some of them consented to it, that they might take away all set forms of prayer, and give way to every man's spirit; the other, that they might take away this form, and give way and countenance to their own. The first is an enemy to all deliberation; the second, to all authority. They will have no man to deliberate; these would have none but themselves. The former are unwise and rash; the latter are pleased with themselves, and are full of opinion. They must be considered apart, for they have rent the question in pieces, and with the fragment in his hand, every man hath run his own way.

QUESTION I.

7. And here I consider that the true state of the question is only this, Whether it is better to pray to God with consideration, or without? Whether is the wiser man of the two, he who thinks and deliberates what to say, or he that utters his mind as fast as it comes? Whether is the better man, he who, out of reverence to God, is most careful and curious that he offend not in his tongue, and, therefore, he himself deliberates, and takes the best guides he can; or he who, out of the confidence of his own abilities, or other exterior assistances, ὅμοιος ἂν εἶναι δόξαιμι τοῖς εἰκῇ, καὶ φορτικῶς, καὶ χύδην, — ὅ, τι ἂν ἐπέλθῃ, λέγουσιν;[p] speaks whatever comes uppermost.

8. And here I wave the advice and counsel of a very wise man, no less than Solomon, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing

[p] Isocrat. in Panathen. Lange. p. 395.

before God; for God is in heaven and thou upon earth; 'therefore, let thy words be few."[b] The consideration of the vast distance between God and us, heaven and earth, should create such apprehensions in us, that the very best and choicest of our offertories are not acceptable but by God's gracious vouchsafing and condescension: and, therefore, since we are so much indebted to God for accepting our best, it is not safe ventured to present him with a dough-baked sacrifice, and put him off with that, which, in nature and human consideration, is absolutely the worst; for such is all the crude and imperfect utterance of our more imperfect conceptions: "Hoc non probo in philosopho, cujus oratio, sicut vita, debet esse composita," said Seneca; "A wise man's speech should be like his life and actions, composed, studied, and considered." And if ever inconsideration be the cause of sin and vanity, it is in our words, and, therefore, is, with greatest care, to be avoided in our prayers, we being, most of all, concerned that God may have no quarrel against them, for folly or impiety.

9. But, abstracting from the reason, let us consider who keeps the precept best, he that deliberates, or he that considers not when he speaks? What man in the world is hasty to offer any thing unto God; if he be not, who prays extempore? And then add to it but the weight of Solomon's reason, and let any man answer me, if he thinks it can well stand with that reverence we owe to the immense, the infinite, and to the eternal God, the God of wisdom, to offer him a sacrifice, which we durst not present to a prince or a prudent governor, 'in re seriâ,' such as our prayers ought to be.

10. And that this may not be dashed with a pretence it is carnal reasoning, I desire it may be remembered, that it is the argument God himself uses against lame, maimed, and imperfect sacrifices, 'Go, and offer this to thy prince,' see if he will accept it; implying, that the best person is to have the best present; and what the prince will slight as truly unworthy of him, much more is it unfit for God. For God accepts not of any thing we give or do, as if he were bettered by it; for, therefore, its estimate is not taken by its

[b] Eccles. v. 2.

relation or natural complacency to him, for, in itself, it is to him as nothing: but God accepts it by its proportion and commensuration to us. That which we call our best, and is truly so in human estimate, that pleases God; for it declares, that if we had better we would give it him. But to reserve the best, says too plainly, that we think any thing is good enough for him. And, therefore, God, in the law, would not be served by that which was imperfect 'in genere naturæ:' so neither now, nor ever, will that please him which is imperfect 'in genere morum,' or 'materiâ intellectuali,' when we can give a better.

11. And, therefore, the wisest nations, and the most sober persons, prepared their verses and prayers in set forms with as much religion as they dressed their sacrifices, and observed the rites of festivals and burials. Amongst the Romans, it belonged to the care of the priests to worship in prescribed and determined words. "In omni precatione qui vota effundit sacerdos, Vestam et Janum aliosque deos præscriptis verbis et composito carmine advocare solet."[c] The Greeks did so too, receiving their prayers by dictate, word for word. "Itaque sua carmina suæque precationes singulis diis institutæ sunt; quas plerumque, nequid præposterè dicatur, aliquis ex præscripto præire et ad verbum referre solebat:[d]—Their hymns and prayers were ordained peculiar to every god, which, lest any thing should be said preposterously, were usually pronounced, word for word, after the priest, and out of written copies;" and the magi among the Persians were as considerate in their devotions; "Magos et Persas primo semper diluculo canere diis hymnos et laudes, meditato et solenni precationis carmine;[e]—The Persians sang hymns to their gods by the morning twilight, in a premeditate, solemn, and metrical form of prayer," saith the same author. For, since in all the actions and discourses of men, that which is the least considered is likely to be the worst, and is certainly of the greatest disreputation, it were a strange cheapness of opinion, towards God and religion, to be the most incurious of what we say to him; and in our religious offices, it is strange that every thing should be considered but our prayers. It is spoken by Eunapius, to the honour of

[c] Alex. ab Alex. lib. ii. c. 14. [d] Idem. lib. iv. c. 17. [e] Ibid.

Prœresius's scholars, that when the proconsul asked their judgments in a question of philosophy, they were προσεσχηκότες τὰ Ἀριστείδου μετὰ πολλῆς σκέψεως καὶ πόνου, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν ἐμούντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀκριβούντων[f]—"they, with much consideration and care, gave, in answer, those words of Aristides, 'That they were not of the number of those that used to vomit out answers, but of those that considered every word they were to speak.'" "Nihil enim ordinatum est quod præcipitatur et properat," said Seneca; "Nothing can be regular and orderly that is hasty and precipitate;" and, therefore, unless religion be the most imprudent, trifling, and inconsiderable thing, and that the work of the Lord is done well enough, when it is done negligently, or that the sanctuary hath the greatest beauty, when it hath the least order, it will concern us highly to think our prayers and religious offices are actions fit for wise men, and, therefore, to be done as the actions of wise men use to be, that is, deliberately, prudently, and with greatest consideration.

12. Well, then, in the nature of the thing, extempore forms have much the worse of it. But it is pretended that there is such a thing as the gift of prayer, of praying with the Spirit; "Et nescit tarda molimina Spiritus Sancti gratia," God's Spirit, if he pleases, can do his work as well in an instant as in long premeditation. And to this purpose are pretended those places of Scripture, which speak of assistance of God's Spirit in our prayers: "And I will pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication."[g] But especially Rom. viii. 26, "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groaning that cannot be uttered," &c. From whence the conclusion that is inferred is, in the words of St. Paul, "that we must pray with the Spirit," therefore, not with set forms, therefore extempore.

13. The collection is somewhat wild, for there is great independence in the several parts; and much more is in the conclusion than was virtually in the premises. But such as it is, the authors of it, I suppose, will own it. And,

[f] In Vita Prœresii. [g] Zech. xii. 10.

therefore, we will examine the main design of it, and then consider the particular means of its persuasion, quoted in the objection.

14. It is one of the privileges of the Gospel, and the benefits of Christ's ascension, that the Holy Ghost is given unto the Church, and is become to us the fountain of gifts and graces. But these gifts and graces are improvements and helps of our natural faculties, of our art and industry, not extraordinary, miraculous, and immediate infusions of habits and gifts. That without God's Spirit we cannot pray aright, that our infirmities need his help, that we know not what to ask, of ourselves, is most true; and if ever any heretic was more confident of his own naturals, or did ever more undervalue God's grace, than the Pelagian did, yet he denies not this: but what then? therefore without study, without art, without premeditation, without learning, the Spirit gives the gift of prayer, and is it his grace that, without any natural or artificial help, makes us pray extempore? No such thing: the objection proves nothing of this.

15. Here, therefore, we will join issue, whether the gifts and helps of the Spirit be immediate infusions of the faculties, and powers, and perfect abilities? Or that he doth assist us only by his aids, external and internal, in the use of such means which God and nature have given to man, to ennoble his soul, better his faculties, and to improve his understanding? That the aids of the Holy Ghost are only assistances to us, in the use of natural and artificial means, I will undertake to prove; and from thence it will evidently follow, that labour, and hard study, and premeditation, will soonest purchase the gift of prayer, and ascertain us of the assistance of the Spirit; and, therefore, set forms of prayer, studied and considered of, are, in a true and proper sense, and without enthusiasm, the fruits of the Spirit.

16. First; God's Spirit did assist the apostles by ways extraordinary, and fit for the first institution of Christianity; but doth assist us now by the expresses of those first assistances which he gave to them immediately.

17. Thus the Holy Ghost brought to their memory all things which Jesus spake and did, and, by that means, we come to know all that the Spirit knew to be necessary for us,

the Holy Ghost being author of our knowledge, by being the fountain of the revelation; and we are, therefore, θεοδίδακτοι, —'taught by God,' because the Spirit of God revealed the articles of our religion, that they might be known to all ages of the Church; and this is testified by St. Paul: "He gave some apostles, and some prophets," &c. "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man," &c. This was the effect of Christ's ascension, when he 'gave gifts unto men,' that is, when he sent the Spirit, the verification of the promise of the Father. The effect of this immission of the Holy Ghost was to fill all things, and that for ever; to build up the Church of God until the day of consummation; so that the Holy Ghost abides with the Church for ever, by transmitting those revelations, which he taught the apostles, to all Christians in succession. Now, as the Holy Ghost taught the apostles, and, by them, still teaches us what to believe, so it is certain he taught the apostles how and what to pray; and because it is certain that all the rules concerning our duty in prayer, and all those graces which we are to pray for, are transmitted to us by derivation from the apostles, whom the Holy Ghost did teach even to that very purpose also, that they should teach us; it follows evidently, that the gift of prayer is a gift of the Holy Ghost; and yet to verify this proposition, we need no other immediate inspiration or extraordinary assistance, than that we derive from the Holy Ghost, by the conveyance of the apostolical sermons and writings.

18. The reason is the same in faith and prayer; and if there were any difference in the acquisition or reception, faith certainly needs a more immediate infusion, as being of greatest necessity, and yet a grace to which we least co-operate, it being the first of graces, and less of the will in it than any other. But yet the Holy Ghost is the author of our faith, and "we believe with the Spirit" (it is St. Paul's expression); and yet our 'belief comes by hearing and reading' the Holy Scriptures and their interpretations. Now reconcile these two together, 'Faith comes by hearing,'[h] and

[h] Ephes. ii. 8. 1 Cor. xii. 9.

yet 'is the gift of the Spirit,' and it says that the gifts of the Spirit are not ecstasies and immediate infusions of habits, but helps from God, to enable us, upon the use of the means of his own appointment, to believe, to speak, to understand, to prophesy, and to pray.

19. But whosoever shall look for any other gifts of the Spirit, besides the parts of nature helped by industry and God's blessing upon it, and the revelations or the supplies of matter in Holy Scripture, will be very far to seek, having neither reason, promise, nor experience, of his side. For why should the spirit of prayer be any other than as the gift and 'spirit of faith,' as St. Paul calls it,[1] acquired by human means, using Divine aids? that is, by our endeavours in hearing, reading, catechizing, desires to obey, and all this blessed and promoted by God, this produces faith. Nay, it is true of us what Christ told his apostles, "sine me nihil potestis facere;" not 'nihil magnum aut difficile,' but 'omninò nihil,' as St. Austin observes. 'Without me ye can do nothing:' and yet we were not capable of a law, or of reward or punishment, if neither with him, nor without him, we were able to do any thing. And, therefore, although in the midst of all our co-operation we may say to God, in the words of the prophet, "Domine, omnia opera operatus es in nobis,—O Lord, thou hast wrought all our works in us," yet they are 'opera nostra' still; God works, and we work: first is the χάρις φερομένη, God's grace is brought to us, he helps and gives us abilities, and then expects our duty. And if the spirit of prayer be of greater consequence than all the works God hath wrought in us besides, and hath the promise of a special prerogative, let the first be proved, and the second be shewn in any good record, and then I will confess the difference.

20. The parallel of this argument I the rather urge, because I find praying in the Holy Ghost joined with graces, which are as much God's gifts and productions of the Spirit as any thing in the world, and yet which the apostle presses upon us as duties, and things put into our power, to be improved by our industry, and those are faith (in which I before instanced) and charity. "But ye, beloved, building

[1] 2 Cor. iv. 13.

up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God."[k] All of the same consideration, faith, and prayer, and charity, all gifts of the Spirit, and yet "build up yourselves in faith, and keep yourselves in love," and therefore, by a parity of reason, improve yourselves in the spirit of prayer; that is, God, by his Spirit, having supplied us with matter, let our industry and co-operations, 'per modum naturæ,' improve these gifts, and build upon this foundation.

21. Thus the Spirit of God is called "the Spirit of adoption, the Spirit of counsel, the Spirit of grace, the Spirit of meekness, the Spirit of wisdom." And, without doubt, he is the Fountain of all these to us all, and that for ever, and yet it cannot reasonably be supposed, but that we must stir up the graces of God in us, co-operate with his assistances, study in order to counsel, labour and consider in order to wisdom, give all diligence to make our calling and election sure, in order to our adoption, in which we are sealed by the Spirit. Now these instances are of gifts, as well as graces; and since the days of wonder and need of miracles is expired, there is no more reason to expect inspiration of gifts than of graces without our endeavours. It concerns the Church rather to have these secured than those, and yet the Spirit of God puts it upon the condition of our co-operation; for, according to the proverb of the old moralists, "Deus habet sinum facilem, non perforatum,—God's bosom is apt and easy" to the emission of graces and assistances, but it is not loose and ungirt; something must be done on our part, we must improve the talents and swell the bank; for if either we lay them up in a napkin or spend them, suppress the Spirit or extinguish it, we shall dearly account for it.

22. In the meantime, if we may lose the gifts by our own fault, we may purchase them by our diligence; if we may lessen them by our incuriousness, we may increase them by study; if we may quench the Spirit, then also we may re-enkindle it: all which are evident probation that the Holy Ghost gives us assistances to improve our natural powers, and to promote our acquisite, and his aids are not

[k] Epist. Jude, 20.

inspirations of the habit, or infusions of a perfect gift, but a subliming of what God gave us in the stock of nature and art, to make it in a sufficient order to an end supernatural and divine.

23. The same doctrine we are taught by St. Paul's exhortation to Timothy: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."[l] And again, "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands."[m] If there be any gifts of the Holy Ghost and spiritual influences, dispensed without our co-operation, and by inspiration of the entire power, it is in ordination; and the persons so ordained are most likely to receive the gift of prayer, if any such thing be for the edification of the Church, they being the men appointed to intercede, and to stand between God and the people; and yet this gift of God, even in those times when they were dispensed with miracle and assistances extraordinary, were given, as all things now are given, by the means also of our endeavour, and was capable of improvement by industry, and of defailance by neglect; and, therefore, much rather is it so now, in the days of ordinary ministration and common assistances.

24. And, indeed, this argument, beside the efficacy of its persuasion, must needs conclude against the men to whom these 'adversaria' are addressed, because themselves call upon their disciples to exercise the gift of prayer,[n] and offer it to consideration, that such exercising it is the way to better it; and if natural endowments and artificial endeavours are the way to purchase new degrees of it, it were not amiss they did consider a little before they begin, and did improve their first and smallest capacities before they ventured any thing in public, by way of address to Almighty God. For the first beginnings are certainly as improvable as the next degrees, and it is certain they have more need of it, as being more imperfect and rude. Therefore, whenever God's Spirit hath given us any capacities or assistances, any documents,

[l] 1 Tim. iv. 14. [m] 2 Tim. i. 6.

[n] "So as that hereby they become not slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them. But that each one, by meditation, by taking heed, &c. may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further or other materials." &c.—*Preface to the Directory.*

motions, desires, or any aids whatsoever, they are, therefore, given us with a purpose we should, by our industry, skill, and labour, improve them, because, without such co-operation, the intention is made void, and the work imperfect.

25. And this is exactly the doctrine I plainly gather from the objected words of St. Paul, "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities," συναντιλαμβάνεται, it is, in the Greek, "collaborantem adjuvat." It is an ingeminate expression of our labours. And that supposes us to have faculties capable of improvement, and an obligation to labour, and that the effect of having the gift of prayer depends upon the mutual course, that is, upon God blessing our powers and our endeavours. And if this way the Spirit performs his promise sufficiently, and does all that we need, and all that he ties himself to; he that will multiply his hopes further that what is sufficient, or what is promised, may possibly deceive himself, but never deceive God, and make him multiply and continue miracles to justify his fancy.

26. Better it is to follow the Scriptures for our guide, as in all things else, so in this particular. "Take the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit."[o] 'The word of God' is 'the sword of the Spirit;' 'praying in the Spirit' is one way of using it, indeed the only way that he here specifies. 'Praying in the Spirit,' then, being the using of this sword, and this sword being the word of God, it follows evidently, that praying in the Spirit is praying in, or according to, the word of God, that is, in the directions, rules, and expresses, of the word of God, that is, of the Holy Scriptures. For we have many infirmities, and we need the Spirit to help; as doubting, coldness, weariness, disrelish of heavenly things, indifference; and these are enough to interpret the place quoted in the objection, without tying him to make words for us, to no great religious purposes, when God hath done that for us, in other manner than what we dream of.

27. So that, in effect, praying in the Holy Ghost, or with the Spirit, is nothing but prayer for such things, and in such manner, which God, by his Spirit, hath taught us in Holy Scripture. Holy prayers, 'spiritual songs,' so the apostle

[o] Eccles. vi. 17, 18.

calls one part of prayer, viz. 'eucharistical or thanksgiving,' that is, prayers or songs which are spiritual 'in materia.' And if they be called spiritual for the efficient cause too, the Holy Ghost being the author of them, it comes all to one; for, therefore, he is the cause and giver of them, because he hath, in his word, revealed what things we are to pray for, and there, also, hath taught us the manner.

28. And this I plainly prove from the words of St. Paul before quoted, "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought."[p] In this we are infirm, that we know not our own needs, nor our own advantages: when the Holy Ghost hath taught us what to ask, and to ask that as we ought, then he hath healed our infirmities, and our ignorances in the matter and the manner; then we know what to pray for as we ought, then we have the grace of prayer, and the spirit of supplication. And, therefore, in the instance before mentioned, concerning spiritual songs, when the apostle had twice enjoined the use of them in order to prayer and preaching, to instruction and to eucharist, and those to be done by the aid of Christ, and Christ's Spirit; what in one place he calls, "being filled with the Spirit,"[q] in the other he calls, "the dwelling of the word of Christ in us richly;"[r] plainly intimating to us, that when we are mighty in the Scriptures, full of the word of Christ, then we are filled with the Spirit, because the Spirit is the great dictator of them to us, and the remembrancer; and when, by such helps of Scripture, we sing hymns to God's honour and our mutual comfort, then we sing and give thanks in the Spirit. And this is evident, if you consult the places, and compare them.

29. And that this is for this reason called 'a gift, and grace,' or issue of the Spirit, is so evident and notorious, that the speaking of an ordinary revealed truth, is called in Scripture, "a speaking by the Spirit."[s] "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost."[t] For, though the world could not acknowledge Jesus for the Lord, without a revelation, yet now that we are taught

[p] Rom. viii. 26. [q] Eph. v. 18, 19. [r] Col. iii. 16.
[s] 1 Cor. xii. 8. [t] Vid. Acts, xix. 21; and xvi. 7-10.

this truth by Scripture, and by the preaching of the apostles to which they were enabled by the Holy Ghost, we need no revelation or enthusiasm to confess this truth, which we are taught in our creeds and catechisms; and as this light sprang first from the emission of a ray from God's Spirit, we must for ever acknowledge him the fountain of our light. Though we cool our thirst at the mouth of the river, yet we owe for our draughts to the springs and fountains from whence the waters first came, though derived to us by the succession of a long current. If the Holy Ghost supplies us with materials and fundamentals for our building, it is then enough to denominate the whole edifice to be of him, although the labour and the workmanship be ours upon another stock. And this is it which the apostle speaks, "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual."[u] 'The Holy Ghost teaches,' yet it is upon our co-operation, our study and endeavour; 'while we compare spiritual things with spiritual,' the Holy Ghost is said to teach us, because these spirituals were of his suggestion and revelation.

30. For it is a rule of the school, and there is much reason in it, 'Habitus infusi infunduntur per modum acquisitorum,—whatsoever is infused into us is in the same manner infused as other things are acquired,' that is, step by step, by human means and co-operation; and grace does not give us new faculties, and create another nature, but meliorates and improves our own. And, therefore, what the Greeks called ἕξεις,—'habits,' the Christians used to call δόσεις and δωρήματα,—'gifts,' because we derive assistances from above to heighten the habits, and facilitate the actions, in order to a more noble and supernatural end. And what St. Paul said in the resurrection, is also true in this question, 'that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, —and then that which is spiritual.' The graces and gifts of the Spirit are postnate, and are additions to art and nature. God directs our counsels, opens our understandings, regulates our will, orders our affections, supplies us with objects, and arguments, and opportunities, and revelations 'in scriptis,'

[u] 1 Cor. ii. 13.

and then most when we most employ our own endeavours, God loving to bless all the means and instruments of his service, whether they be natural or acquisite.

31. So that now I demand, whether, since the expiration of the age of miracles, God's Spirit does not most assist us, when we most endeavour and most use the means? He that says, 'no,' discourages all men from reading the Scriptures, from industry, from meditation, from conference, from human arts and sciences, and from whatsoever else God and good laws provoke us to by proposition of rewards. But if 'yea' (as most certainly God will best crown the best endeavours), then the spirit of prayer is greatest in him, who (supposing the like capacities and opportunities) studies hardest, reads most, practises most religiously, deliberates most prudently; and then, by how much want of means is worse than the use of means, by so much extempore prayers are worse than deliberate and studied. Excellent, therefore, is the counsel of St. Peter. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God:" not lightly then and inconsiderately. "If any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth:"[a] great reason then to put all his abilities and faculties to it: and, whether of the two does most likely do that, he that takes pains, and considers and discusses, and so approves and practises a form,—or he that never considers what he says, till he says it,—needs not much deliberation to pass a sentence. Only, methinks it is most unreasonable, that we should be bound to prepare ourselves with due requisites, to hear what they shall speak in public, and that they should not prepare what to speak; as if to speak were of easier, or of less consideration, than to hear what is spoken; or if they do prepare what to speak to the people, it were also very fit they prepared their prayers, and considered beforehand of the fitness of the offertory they present to God.

32. Lastly: did not the penmen of the Scripture write the epistles and gospels respectively all by the Spirit? Most certainly, "holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," saith St. Peter. And certainly they were moved by a more immediate motion, and a motion

[a] 1 Epist. iv. 11.

nearer to an enthusiasm, than nowadays in 'the gift and spirit of prayer.' And yet, in the midst of those great assistances and motions they did use study, art, industry, and human abilities.[y] This is more than probable in the different styles of the several books, some being of admirable art, others lower and plain. The words were their own; at least, sometimes, not the Holy Ghost's. And if Origen, St. Jerome, and especially the Greek fathers, scholiasts and grammarians, were not deceived by false copies, but that they truly did observe, sometimes to be impropriety of an expression in the language, sometimes not true Greek, who will think those errors or imperfections in grammar were (in respect of the words, I say, precisely,) immediate inspirations and dictates of the Holy Ghost, and not rather their own productions of industry and humanity? But, clearly, some of their words were the words of Aratus, some of Epimenides: some of Menander, some of St. Paul, "This speak I, not the Lord."[z] Some were the words of Moses, even all that part of the Levitical law which concerned divorces, and concerning which our blessed Saviour affirms, that 'Moses permitted it, because of the hardness of their hearts, but from the beginning it was not so:' and divers others of the same nature, collected and observed to this purpose, by Origen,[a] St. Basil,[b] St. Ambrose;[c] and particularly that promise which St. Paul made 'of calling upon the Corinthians as he passed into Macedonia,' which certainly, in all reason, is to be presumed to have been spoken 'humanitùs,' and not by immediate inspiration and infusion, because St. Paul was so hindered that he could not be as good as his word, and yet the Holy Ghost could have foreseen it, and might better have excused it, if St. Paul had laid it upon his score; but he did not, and it is reasonable enough to believe there was no cause he should; and yet, because the Holy Ghost renewed their memory,

[y] Etiam veteres prophetæ disposuerunt se ad respondendum prophetice, et vaticinia, admoto plectro, aut hausto calice, dederunt.—Gen. xliv. 5. 'Scyphus, quem furati estis, ipse est, in quo Dominus meus bibit, et in quo augurari solet,' dixit œconomus Josephi. 'Et efferte psalterium,' dixit Eliseus, 2 Reg. iii. 15. Dominum interrogaturus.

Vid. Eras. Epist. ad Jo. Eckium, Ep. lib. xx.

[z] 1 Cor. vii. 6.

[a] Homil. 16. in Numer.

[b] Lib. v. cont. Eunom. c. penult.

[c] Lib. viii. in Lucam, c. 16.

improved their understanding, supplied to some their want of human learning, and so assisted them, that they should not commit an error in fact or opinion, neither in the narrative nor dogmatical parts, therefore they wrote 'by the Spirit.' Since that, we cannot pretend, upon any grounds of probability, to an inspiration so immediate as theirs, and yet their assistances which they had from the Spirit, did not exclude human arts and industry, but that the ablest scholar did write the best, much rather is this true in the gifts and assistances we receive, and particularly in 'the gift of prayer;' it is not an extempore and an inspired faculty, but the faculties of nature, and the abilities of art and industry are improved and ennobled by the supervening assistances of the Spirit. And if these who pray extempore, say that the assistance they receive from the Spirit, is the inspiration of words and powers without the operations of art, and natural abilities, and human industry, then besides that it is more than the penmen of Scripture sometimes had, (because they needed no extraordinary assistances to what they could, of themselves, do upon the stock of other abilities,) besides this, I say, it must follow that such prayers, so inspired, if they were committed to writing, would prove as good canonical Scripture as any is in St. Paul's epistles; the impudence of which pretension is sufficient to prove the extreme vanity of the challenge.

33. The sum is this: Whatsoever this gift is, or this spirit of prayer, it is to be acquired by human industry, by learning of the Scriptures, by reading, by conference, and by whatsoever else faculties are improved, and habits enlarged. God's Spirit hath done his work sufficiently this way, and he loves not, either in nature or grace, which are his two great sanctions, to multiply miracles when there is no need.

34. And now let us take a man that pretends he hath the 'gift of prayer,' and loves to pray extempore, I suppose his thoughts go a little before his tongue; I demand, then, whether cannot this man, when it is once come into his head, hold his tongue, and write down what he hath conceived? If his first conceptions were of God, and God's Spirit, then they are so still, even when they are written. Or is the Spirit departed from him, upon the sight of a pen

and inkhorn? It did use to be otherwise among the old and new prophets, whether they were prophets of prediction, or of ordinary ministry. But if his conception may be written, and being written, is still a production of the Spirit; then it follows, that 'set forms of prayer,' deliberate, and described, may as well be a praying with the Spirit, as sudden forms and extempore outlets.

35. Now the case being thus put, I would fain know what the difference is between deliberate and extempore prayers, save only that in these there is less consideration and prudence; for that the other are (at least as much as these) the productions of the Spirit, is evident in the very case put in this argument: and whether to consider and to weigh them be any disadvantage to our devotions, I leave it to all wise men to determine; so that in effect, since, after the pretended assistance of the Spirit in our prayers, we may write them down, consider them, try the spirits, and ponder the matter, the reason and the religion of the address; let the world judge whether this sudden utterance and extempore forms, be any thing else but a direct resolution not to consider beforehand what we speak. "Sic itaque habe, ut istam vim dicendi rapidam aptiorem esse circulanti judices, quàm agenti rem magnam et seriam, docentique." They are the words of Seneca, and express what naturally flows from the premises. The pretence of the Spirit, and the gift of prayer, is not sufficient to justify the dishonour they do to religion, in serving it in the lowest and most indeliberate manner, nor quit such men from unreasonableness and folly, who will dare to speak to God in the presence of the people, and in their behalf, without deliberation, or learning, or study. Nothing is a greater disreputation to the prudence of a discourse, than to say it was a thing made up in haste, that is, without due considering.

36. But here I consider, and I wish they whom it concerns most, would do so too: that to pretend the Spirit, in so unreasonable a manner to so ill purposes, and without reason, or promise, or probability for doing it, is a very great crime, and of dangerous consequence. It was the greatest aggravation of the sin of Ananias and Sapphira, ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον τὸ Πνεῦμα, that they did falsely pretend and 'belie the Holy Spirit;' which crime, besides that it dishonours the Holy

Ghost, to make him the president of imperfect and illiterate rites, the author of confusion, and indeliberate discourses, and the parent of such productions, which a wise person would blush to own: it also entitles him to all those doctrines which either chance or design shall expose to the people, in such prayers to which they entitle the Holy Spirit as the author and immediate dictator. So that if they please, he must not only own their follies, but their impieties too; and how great disreputation this is to the Spirit of wisdom, of counsel, and of holiness, I wish they may rather understand by discourse than by experiment.

37. But let us look a little farther into the mystery, and see what is meant in Scripture, by [a] praying with the spirit. In what sense the Holy Ghost is called the 'Spirit of prayer,' I have already shewn; viz. by the same reason as he is the 'Spirit of faith, of prudence, of knowledge, of understanding,' and the like, because he gives us assistances for the acquiring of these graces, and furnishes us with revelations by way of object and instruction. But 'praying with the Spirit' hath, besides this, other senses also in Scripture. I find in one place, that we then pray with the Spirit, when the Holy Ghost does actually excite us to desires and earnest tendencies, to the obtaining our holy purpose, when he prepares our hearts to pray, when he enkindles our desires, gives us zeal and devotion, charity and fervour, spiritual violence and holy importunity. This sense is also in the latter part of the objected words of St. Paul,[d] "The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings." And indeed, this is truly a praying with the Spirit; but this will do our reverend brethren of the assembly little advantage as to the present question. For this Spirit is not a spirit of utterance, not at all clamorous in the ears of the people; but cries aloud in the ears of God, with 'groans unutterable,' so it follows, and only "He that searcheth the heart, he understandeth the meaning of the Spirit."[e] This is the Spirit of the Son, which 'God hath sent into our hearts' (not into our

[d] Rom. viii. 26.

[e] Sunt ne mei? sunt ne tui? imò sunt gemitus ecclesiæ, aliquando in me, aliquando in te. August. eodem modo quo S. August. dixit Deo, Conqueror tibi, Domine, lachrymis Jesu Christi, de quo dictum est, Heb. v. 7. δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσένεγκε.

tongues), 'whereby we cry, Abba, Father.'[1] And this is the great ἀόριστα for mental prayer, which is properly and truly praying by the Spirit.

38. Another praying with the Spirit I find in that place of St. Paul, from whence this expression is taken, and commonly used, "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also." It is generally supposed that St. Paul relates here to a special and extraordinary gift of prayer, which was indulged to the primitive bishops and priests, the apostles and rulers of churches, and to some other persons extraordinarily, of being able to compose prayers, pious in the matter, prudent in the composure, devout in the forms, expressive in the language; and, in short, useful to the Church, and very apt for devotion, and serving to her religion and necessities. I believe that such a gift there was, and this indulged, as other issues of the Spirit, to some persons, upon special necessities, by singular dispensation, as the Spirit knew to be most expedient for the present need, and the future instruction. This I believe, not because I find sufficient testimony that it was so, or any evidence from the words now alleged; but because it was reasonable it should be so, and agreeable to the other proceedings of the Holy Ghost. For although we account it an easy matter to make prayers, and we have great reason to give thanks to the Holy Ghost for it, who hath descended so plentifully upon the Church, hath made plentiful revelation of all the public and private necessities of the world, hath taught us how to pray, given rules for the manner of address, taught us how to distinguish spiritual from carnal things, hath represented the vanity of wordly desires, the unsatisfyingness of earthly possessions, the blessing of being denied our impertinent, secular, and indiscreet requests, and hath done all this at the beginning of Christianity, and hath actually stirred up the apostles and apostolical men to make so many excellent forms of prayer, which their successors did in part retain, and in part imitate, till the conjunct wisdom of the Church saw her offices complete, regular, and sufficient. So that now every man is able to make something of forms of prayer (for which ability they should do well to pay

[1] Gal. iv. 6.

their eucharist to the Holy Ghost, and not abuse the gift to vanity or schism); yet at the first beginning of Christianity, till the Holy Spirit did fill all things, they found no such plenty of forms of prayer; and it was accounted a matter of so great consideration to make a form of prayer, that it was thought a fit work for a prophet, or the founder of an institution. And, therefore, the disciples of John asked of him "to teach them how to pray;" and the disciples of Christ did so too. For the law of Moses had no rules to instruct the synagogue how to pray; and but that Moses, and David, and Asaph, and some few of the prophets more, left 'forms of prayer' which the Spirit of God inspired them withal, upon great necessities, and great mercy to that people, they had not known how to have composed an office for the daily service of the temple, without danger of asking things needless, vain or impious; such as were the prayers in the Roman closets, that he was a good man that would not own them;

Et nihil arcano qui roget ore deos.—*Mart.* i. 40.
——— Pulchra Laverna
Da mihi fallere, da justo, sanctoque videri;
Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.—*Hor. Ep.* i. 16. 60.

But when the Holy Ghost came down in a full breath and a mighty wind, he filled the breasts and tongues of men, and furnished the first Christians, not only with abilities enough to frame excellent devotions for their present offices, but also to become presidents for liturgy to all ages of the Church, the first being imitated by the second, and the second by the third, till the Church being settled in peace, and the records transmitted with greater care, and preserved with less hazard, the Church chose such forms, whose copies we retain at this day.

39. Now, since it was certain that all ages of the Church would look upon the first fathers in Christ, and founders of churches, as precedents, or tutors, and guides, in all the parts of their religion, and that 'prayer,' with its several parts and instances, is a great portion of the religion (the sacraments themselves being instruments of grace, and effectual in 'genere orationis'), it is very reasonable to think that the apostolical men had not only the 'first-fruits,' but the 'elder brother's share,' a double portion of the Spirit; because they were not only to serve their own needs, to

which a single and an ordinary portion would have been then, as now, abundantly sufficient, but also to serve the necessity of the succession, and to instruct the Church for ever after.

40. But then, that this assistance was an ability to pray extempore, I find it nowhere affirmed by sufficient authentic testimony; and if they could have done it, it is very likely they would have been wary and restrained in the public use of it. I doubt not but there might then be some sudden necessities of the Church, for which the Church, being in her infancy, had not as yet provided any public forms; concerning which cases I may say, as Quintilian of an orator in the great and sudden needs of the commonwealth: "Quarum si qua, non dico cuiquunque innocentium civium, sed amicorum ac propinquorum alicui evenerit, stabitne mutus, et salutarem petentibus vocem, statim, si non succurratur, perituris, moras et secessum et silentium quæret, dum illa verba fabricentur, et memoriæ insidant, et vox ac latus præparetur?"[s] I do not think that they were 'oratores imparati ad casus,' but that an ability of praying on a sudden was indulged to them, by a special aid of the Spirit, to contest against sudden dangers, and the violence of new accidents; to which also possibly a new inspiration was but for a very little while necessary, even till they understood the mysteries of Christianity and the revelations of the Spirit, by proportion and analogy to which they were sufficiently instructed, to make their sudden prayers when sudden occasions did require.

41. This I speak by way of concession and probability: for no man can prove thus much, as I am willing (relying upon the reasonableness of the conjecture) to suppose: but that praying with the Spirit, in this place, is praying without study, art, or deliberation, is not so much as intimated.

42. For, first, it is here implied that they did prepare some of those devotions to which they were helped by the Spirit: ὅταν συνέρχεσθε, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει·—"when you come together, each of you, peradventure, hath a psalm:" ἔχει, not ποιεῖ, not every one *makes*, but when you

[s] De Extemporali Dicendi Facultate, x. 7. 2. Spalding.

meet, every one *hath*, viz. already, which supposes they had it prepared against the meeting. For the Spirit could help as well at home in their meditation, as in the public upon a sudden; and though it is certain the Holy Spirit loves to bless the public meetings, the communion of saints, with special benedictions, yet I suppose my adversaries are not willing to acknowledge any thing that should do much reputation to the Church, and the public authorized conventions, at least not to confine the Spirit to such holy and blessed meetings: they will, I suppose, rather grant the words do probably intimate, "they came prepared with a hymn;" and, therefore, there is nothing in the nature of the thing, but that so also might their other forms of prayer; the assistances of the Spirit (which is the thing in question) hinders not, but that they also might have made them by premeditation.

43. Secondly, in this place, praying with the Spirit signifies no other extraordinary assistance, but that the Spirit helped them to speak their prayer in an unknown tongue: ἐὰν γὰρ προσεύχωμαι γλώσσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσεύχεται—"If I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is without fruit:" what then? "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also." Plainly here, praying in the spirit, which is opposed to praying in understanding, is praying in an unknown tongue; where, by the way, observe, that praying with the spirit, even in the sense of Scripture, is not always most to edification of the people; not always with understanding. And when these two are separated, St. Paul prefers five words with understanding, before ten thousand in the spirit. For this praying with the spirit was indeed then a gift extraordinary and miraculous, like as prophesying with the spirit, and expired with it. But while it did last, it was the lowest of gifts, "inter dona linguarum," it was but a gift of the tongue, and not to the benefit of the Church directly or immediately.

44. This also observe in passing by: if St. Paul did so undervalue the praying with the spirit, that he preferred edifying the Church a thousand degrees beyond it; I suppose he would have been of the same mind, if the question had been between praying with the spirit and obeying our superiors, as he was when it was between praying with

the spirit and edification of the Church; because, if I be not mistaken, it is matter of great concernment towards the edification of the Church, to obey our superiors, not to innovate in public forms of worship, especially with the scandal and offence of very wise and learned men, and to the disgrace of the dead martyrs, who sealed our liturgy with their blood.

45. But to return. In this place, praying with the spirit, beside the assistance given by the Holy Ghost to speak in a strange tongue, is no more than "my spirit praying;" that is, it implies my co-operation with the assistance of the Spirit of God, insomuch that the whole action may truly be denominated mine, and is called "of the spirit," only by reason of that collateral assistance. For so St. Paul joins them, as terms identical, and expressive of one another's meaning, as you may please to read, 1 Cor. xv. 14, 15, "I will pray with the spirit, and my spirit truly prayeth." It is the act of our inner man, praying holy and spiritual prayers. But then, indeed, at that time, there was something extraordinary adjoined, for it was in an unknown tongue, the practice of which St. Paul there dislikes. This also will be to none of their purposes: for whether it were extempore, or by premeditation, is not here expressed; or if it had, yet that assistance extraordinary in prayer, if there was any beside the "gift of tongues," which is not here or any where else expressed, is no more transmitted to us, than the speaking tongues in the spirit, or prophesying extempore and by the spirit.

46. But I would add also one experiment, which St. Paul also there adds, by way of instance. If praying with the spirit, in this place, be praying extempore, then so is singing too; for they are expressed in the same place, in the same manner, to the same end, and I know no reason why there should be differing senses put upon them to serve purposes. And now let us have some church music too, though the organs be pulled down; and let any the best psalmist of them all compose a hymn in metrical form (as Antipater Sidonius in Quintilian, and Licinius Archias in Cicero, could do in their verses), and sing it to a new tune with perfect and true music, and all this extempore; for all this the Holy Ghost can do if he pleases. But if it be said,

that the Corinthian Christians composed their songs and hymns according to art and rules of music, by study and industry, and that to this they were assisted by the Spirit; and that this, together with the devotion of their spirit, was singing with the Spirit: then say I, so composing set forms of liturgy by skill, and prudence, and human industry, may be as much praying with the Spirit, as the other is singing with the Spirit; plainly enough. In all the senses of praying with the Spirit, and in all its acceptations in Scripture, to pray or sing with the Spirit, neither of them of necessity implies extempore.

47. The sum or collecta of the premises is this: praying with the Spirit is either, first, when the Spirit stirs up our desires to pray, "per motionem actualis auxilii;" or, secondly, when the Spirit teaches us what or how to pray, telling us the matter and manner of our prayers: thirdly, or lastly, dictating the very words of our prayers. There is no other way in the world to pray with the Spirit, or in the Holy Ghost, that is pertinent to this question. And of this last manner the Scripture determines nothing, nor speaks any thing expressly of it; and yet suppose it had, we are certain the Holy Ghost hath supplied us with all these; and yet, in set forms of prayer, best of all, I mean there, where a difference can be; for, 1. as for the desires and actual motions or incitements to pray, they are indifferent to one or the other, to set forms or to extempore.

48. Secondly: but as to the matter or manner of prayer, it is clearly contained in the express and set forms of Scriptures, and, there it is supplied to us by the Spirit, for he is the great dictator of it.

49. Thirdly. Now, then, for the very words. No man can assure me that the words of his 'extempore' prayer are the words of the Holy Spirit. It is neither reason nor modesty to expect such immediate assistances to so little purpose, he having supplied us with abilities more than enough to express our desires 'aliundè,' otherwise than by immediate dictate. But if we will take David's psalter, or the other hymns of Holy Scripture, or any of the prayers which are respersed over the Bible, we are sure enough that they are the words of God's Spirit, mediately or immediately, by way of infusion, or ecstasy, by vision, or at least

by ordinary assistance. And now, then, what greater confidence can any man have for the excellence of his prayers, and the probability of their being accepted, than when he prays his psalter, or the Lord's prayer, or any other office which he finds consigned in Scripture? When God's Spirit stirs us up to an actual devotion, and then we use the matter he hath described and taught, and the very words which Christ, and Christ's Spirit, and the apostles, and other persons full of the Holy Ghost, did use; if in the world there be any praying with the Spirit, I mean, in vocal prayer, this is it.

50. And thus I have examined the entire and full scope of this first question, and rifled their objection, which was the only colour to hide the appearance of its natural deformity at the first sight. The result is this: "Scribendum, ergo, quoties licebit: si id non dabitur, cogitandum: ab utroque exclusi, debent tamen adniti, ut neque deprehensus orator, neque litigator destitutus esse videatur;"[h] — In making our orations and public advocations, we must write what we mean to speak, as often as we can; when we cannot, yet we must deliberate and study; and when the suddenness of the accident prevents both these, we must use all the powers of art and care, that we have a present mind, and call in all our first provisions, that we be not destitute of matter and words apt for the employment." This was Quintilian's rule for the matter of prudence, and in secular occasions; but when the instance is in religion, and especially in our prayers, it will concern us nearly to be curious and deliberate what we speak in the audience of the eternal God, when our lives, and our souls, and the honour of God, and the reputation of religion, are concerned, and whatsoever is greatest in itself, or dearest to us.

QUESTION II.

51. The second question hath in it something more of difficulty; for the men that own it will give leave that 'set forms' may be used, so you give leave to them to make them;

[h] Quintil. x. 7. 29 Spalding.

but if authority shall interpose, and prescribe a liturgy, every word shall breed a quarrel; and if the matter be innocent, yet the very injunction is tyranny, a restraining of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, it leaves the spirit of a man sterile and unprofitable, it is not for edification of the Church, and is as destitute of comfort as it is of profit. For God hath not restrained his Spirit to those few that rule the Church in prelation above others, but if he hath given to them the spirit of government, he hath given to others the spirit of prayer, and the spirit of prophecy. "Now the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; for to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit." And these, and many other gifts are given to several members, that they may supply one another, and all join to the edification of the body. And, therefore, that must needs be an imprudent sanction, that so determines the offices of the Church, that she cannot be edified by that variety of gifts which the Holy Spirit hath given to several men to that purpose; just as if there should be a canon, that but one sermon should be preached in all churches for ever. Besides, it must needs be, that the devotion of the suppliants must be much retarded by the perpetuity and unalterable reiteration of the same form; for since our affections will certainly vary, and suffer great alteration of degrees and inclinations, it is easier to frame words apt to comply with our affections, than to conform our affections, in all varieties, to the same words. When the forms are daily changed, it is probable that every man shall find something proportionable to his fancy, which is the great instrument of devotion, than to suppose that any one form should be, like manna, fitted to every taste; and, therefore, in prayers, as the affections must be natural, sweet, and proper, so also should the words expressing the affections, issue forth by way of natural emanation. "Sed extemporalis audaciæ atque ipsius temeritatis vel præcipua jucunditas est. Nam ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quanquam alia diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen, quæ suâ sponte nascuntur."[1] And a garment may as well be made to fit the moon, as that one form of prayer should be made apt and proportionable to all men, or to any man, at all times.

[1] Quintil. Dial. de Oratorib. c. vii. Seebode, p. 7.

52. This discourse relies wholly upon these two grounds: a liberty to use a variety of forms for prayer, is more for the edification of the Church. Secondly: it is part of that liberty which the Church hath, and part of the duty of the Church, to preserve the liberty of the Spirit in various forms.

53. Before I descend to consideration of the particulars, I must premise this, that the gift, or ability of prayer, given to the Church, is used either in public or in private, and that which is fit enough for one, is inconvenient in the other; and although a liberty in private may be for edification of good people, when it is piously and discreetly used, yet, in the public, if it were indifferently permitted, it would bring infinite inconvenience, and become intolerable, as a sad experience doth too much verify.

54. But now then, this distinction evacuates all the former discourse, and since it is permitted that every man, in private, use what forms he please, the Spirit hath all that liberty that is necessary; and so much as can be convenient; the Church may be edified by every man's gift, the affections of all men may be complied withal, words may be fitted to their fancies, their devotions quickened, their weariness helped and supported, and whatsoever benefit may be fancied by variety and liberty, all that may be enjoyed, and every reasonable desire, or weaker fancy, be fully satisfied.

55. But since these advantages to devotion are accidental, and do consult with weakness and infirmity, and depend upon irregular variety, for which no antecedent rule can make particular provision; it is not to be expected, the public constitution and prescribed forms, which are regular, orderly, and determined, can make provision for particulars, for chances, and for infinite varieties. And if this were any objection against public forms, it would also conclude against all human laws, that they did not make provision for all particular accidents and circumstances that might possibly occur. All public sanctions must be of a public spirit and design, and secure all those excellent things which have influence upon societies and communities of men, and public obligations.

56. Thus, if public forms of prayer be described, whose matter is pious and holy, whose design is of universal extent, and provisionary for all public, probable, feared, or

foreseen events, whose frame and composure is prudent, and by authority competent and high, and whose use and exercise is instrumental to peace and public charity, and all these hallowed by intention, and care of doing glory to God, and advantages to religion, expressed in observation of all such rules and precedents as are most likely to teach us best, and guide us surest, such as are Scriptures, apostolical tradition, primitive practice, and precedents of saints and holy persons, the public can do no more; all the duty is performed, and all the care is taken.

57. Now, after all this, there are personal necessities and private conveniencies or inconveniencies, which, if men are not so wise as themselves to provide for, by casting off all prejudice, and endeavouring to grow strong in Christianity, men in Christ, and not for ever to be babes in religion, but frame themselves to a capacity of receiving the benefit of the public, without needing other provisions, than what will fit the Church in her public capacity; the Spirit of God, and the Church taught by him, hath permitted us to comply with our own infirmities, while they are innocent, and to pray, in private, in any form of words, which shall be most instrumental to our devotion in the present capacity, "Neque hoc ego ago ut ex tempore dicere malit, sed ut possit."[k]

58. And, indeed, sometimes an exuberant and an active affection, and overflowing of devotion, may descend like anointing from above, and our cup run over, and is not to be contained within the margent of prescribed forms; and though this be not of so great consideration as if it should happen to a man in public, that it is then fit for him, or to be permitted to express it in forms unlimited and undetermined,[l] —for there was a case in the days of the inundation of the Spirit, when a man, full of the Spirit, was commanded "to keep silence in the Church, and to speak to himself and to God;"[l]—yet when this grace is given him in private, he may compose his own liturgy; "Pectus est enim, quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Ideoque imperitis quoque, si modò sunt aliquo affectu concitati, verba non desunt."[m] Only when, in private devotion, we use forms of our own making or

[k] Quintil. [l] 1 Cor. xiv. 28. [m] Quintil. x. 7. 15. Spalding.

choosing, we are concerned to see, that the matter be pious, apt for edification and the present necessity, and without contempt of public prescriptions, or irreverence to God, and in all the rest we are at liberty;[n] only in the Lord, that is, according to the rule of faith, and the analogy of Christian religion. For supposing that our devotion be fervent, our intention pious, and the petition κατὰ ὃ δεῖ,—'according to the will of God.' Whatsoever our expressions are, God reads the petition in the character of the spirit, though the words be 'brevia, concisa, et singultantium modo ejecta.' But then these accidental advantages and circumstances of profit, which may be provided for in private; as they cannot be taken care of in public, so neither is it necessary they should; for those pleasures of sensible devotion are so far from being necessary to the acceptation of prayer, that they are but compliances with our infirmities, and suppose a great weakness in him that needs them, say the masters of spiritual life; and in the strongest prayers and most effectual devotions, are seldomest found; such as was Moses's prayer when he spake nothing,—and Hannah's,—and our blessed Saviour's, when he called upon his Father κραυγαῖς ἰσχυραῖς,—'with strong cries,' in that great desertion of spirit, when he prayed in the garden; in these prayers, the spirit was bound up with the strictness and violence of intention, but could not ease itself with a flood of language and various expression. A great devotion is like a great grief, not so expressive as a moderate passion; tears spend the grief, and variety of language breathes out the devotion; and, therefore, Christ went thrice, and said the same words; he could just speak his sense in a plain expression, but the greatness of his agony was too big for the pleasure of a sweet and sensible expression of devotion.

59. So that, let the devotion be ever so great, set forms of prayer will be expressive enough of any desire,

[n] Quale est illud apud Tertul. de privatis Christianorum precibus, non quidem ab alio dictatis, sed à Scripturarum fontibus derivatis. Illuc suspicientes Christiani, manibus expansis, quia innocui; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus; denique, sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus; vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt.

though importunate as extremity itself; but when the spirit is weak, and the devotion imperfect, and the affections dry, though in respect of the precise duty on our part, and the acceptation on God's part, no advantage is got by a liberty of an indifferent, unlimited, and chosen form; and, therefore, in all cases, the whole duty of prayer is secured by public forms; yet other circumstantial and accidental advantages may be obtained by it, and, therefore, let such persons feast themselves in private with sweetmeats, and less nourishing delicacies, weak stomachs must be cared for; yet they must be confessed to have stronger stomachs, and better health, that can feed upon the wholesome food prepared in the common refectories.

60. So that public forms, it is true, cannot be fitted to every man's fancy and affections, especially in an age wherein all public constitutions are protested against; but yet they may be fitted to all necessities, and to every man's duty, and for the pleasing the affections and fancies of men; that may be sometimes convenient, but it is never necessary; and God, that suffers dryness of affections many times in his dearest servants, and in their greatest troubles, and most excellent devotions, hath, by that sufferance of his, given demonstration, that it is not necessary such affections should be complied withal; for then he would never suffer those sterilities, but himself, by a cup of sensible devotion, would water and refresh those drynesses; and if God himself does not, it is not to be expected the Church should.

61. And this also is the case of Scripture, for the many discourses of excellent orators and preachers have all those advantages of meeting with the various affections and dispositions of the hearers, and may cause a tear, when all St. Paul's epistles would not; and yet certainly there is no comparison between them, but one chapter of St. Paul is more excellent, and of better use to the substantial part of religion, than all the sermons of St. Chrysostom; and yet there are some circumstances of advantage which human eloquence may have, which are not observed to be in those other more excellent emanations of the Holy Spirit. And, therefore, if the objection should be true, and that conceived forms of prayer, in their great variety, might do some accidental advantages to weaker persons, and stronger fancies,

and more imperfect judgments, yet, this instance of Scripture is a demonstration that set and composed devotions may be better; and this reason does not prove the contrary, because the sermons in Scripture are infinitely to be preferred before those discourses and orations, which do more comply with the fancies of the people. Nay, we see by experience, that the change of our prayers, or our books, or our company, is so delightful to most persons, that though the change be for the worse, it more complies with their affections than the peremptory and unaltered retaining of the better; but yet this is no good argument to prove that change to be for the better.

62. But yet, if such compliance with fancies and affections were necessary, what are we the nearer if every minister were permitted to pray his own forms? How can his form comply with the great variety of affections which are amongst his auditors, any more than the public forms described by authority? It may hit casually, and, by accident, be commensurate to the present fancy of some of his congregation, with which, at that time, possibly the public form would not: this may be thus, and it may be otherwise; and at the same time, in which some feel a gust and relish in his prayer, others might feel a greater sweetness in recitation of the public forms. This thing is so by chance, so irregular and uncertain, that no wise man, nor no providence less than Divine, can make any provisions for it.

63. And, after all, it is nothing but the fantastic and imaginative part that is pleased, which, for aught appears, may be disturbed with curiosity, peevishness, pride, spirit of novelty, lightness, and impertinence; and that to satisfy such spirits, and fantastic persons, may be as dangerous and useless to them, as it is troublesome in itself. But, then, for the matter of edification, that is considerable upon another stock; for nowadays, men are never edified, unless they be pleased, and if they dislike the person, or have taken up a quarrel against any form or institution, presently they cry out, 'they are not edified,' that is, they are displeased; and the ground of their displeasure is nothing from the thing itself, but from themselves only: they are wanton with their meat, and long for variety, and then they cry out that manna will not nourish them, but prefer the onions of Egypt before

the food of angels: the way to cure this inconvenience is to alter the men, not to change the institution; for it is very certain that wholesome meat is, of itself, nutritive, if the body be disposed to its reception and entertainment. But it is not certain that what a sick man fancies, out of the weakness of his spirit, the distemper of his appetite, and wildness of his fancy, that it will become to him either good, or good physic. Now, in the entertainments of religion and spiritual repasts, that is wholesome, nutritive, and apt to edify, which is pious in itself, of advantage to the honour of God, whatsoever is good doctrine, or good prayers, especially when it is prepared by a public hand, and designed for public use, by all the wisdom of those men, who, in all reason, are to be supposed to have received from God all those assistances which are effects of the spirit of government; and, therefore, it is but weakness of spirit, or strength of passion, impotency in some sense or other, certainly, that first dislikes the public provisions, and then say they are not wholesome.

64. For I demand concerning the public liturgies of a church, whose constitution is principally of the parts and choicest extracts of Scripture, lessons and psalms, and some few hymns and symbols, made by the most excellent persons in the Primitive Church, and all this in nothing disagreeing from the rules of liturgy given in Scripture, but that the same things are desired, and the same persons prayed for, and to the same end, and by the same great instrument of address and acceptation, 'by Jesus Christ,' and which gives all the glory that is due to God, and gives nothing of this to a creature, and hath in many admirable documents; whether there be any thing wanting, in such a liturgy, towards edification? What is there in prayers that can edify, that is not in such a liturgy so constituted? or what can there be more in the private forms of any minister, than is in such a public composition?

65. By this time, I suppose, the objection, with all its parts, is disbanded so far as it relates to edification, profit, and compliance with the auditors: as for the matter of liberty and restraint of the spirit, I shall consider that part. In the meantime, I shall set down those grounds of religion and reason upon which public liturgy relies, and by the

strength of which it is to be justified, against all opposition and pretences.

66. 1. The Church hath a power given to her by the Spirit of God, and a command to describe public forms of liturgy. For I consider that the Church is a family, Jesus Christ is the Master of the family, the Holy Spirit is the great dispensator of all such graces the family needs, and are, in order to the performance of their duty; the apostles and their successors, the rulers of the Church, are 'stewards of the manifold graces of God,' whose office is to provide every man's portion, and to dispense the graces and issues evangelical, by way of ministry. "Who is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler of his household?" It was our blessed Saviour's question, and St. Paul answered it: "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God."[o] Now the greatest ministry of the Gospel is by way of prayer, most of the graces of the Spirit being obtained by prayer, and such offices which operate by way of impetration, and benediction, and consecration, which are but the several instances of prayer; prayer, certainly, is the most effectual and mysterious ministry; and, therefore, since the Holy Ghost hath made the rulers of the Church 'stewards of the mysteries,' they are, by virtue of their stewardship, presidents of prayer and public offices.

67. 2. Which also is certain, because the priest is to stand between God and the people, and to represent all their needs to the throne of grace: "He is a prophet and shall pray for thee," said God, concerning Abraham, to Abimelech. And, therefore, the apostles appointed inferior officers in the Church, that they might not be hindered in their great work; "but we will give ourselves to the word of God and to prayer;" and, therefore, in our greatest need, in our sickness and last scene of our lives, we are directed to "send for the elders of the Church, that they may pray over us;" and God hath promised to hear them: and if prayer be of any concernment towards the final condition of our souls, certainly it is to be ordered, guided, and disposed, by them

[o] 1 Cor. iv. 1.

who " watch for our souls," ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες, " as they that must give account to God for them."

68. 3. Now, if the rulers of the Church are presidents of the rites of religion, and, by consequence, of prayer, either they are to order public prayers, or private. For private, I suppose, most men will be so desirous of their liberty, as to preserve that in private, where they have no concernments but their own, for the matter of order or scandal: but for public, if there be any such thing as government, and that prayers may be spoiled by disorder, or made ineffectual by confusion, or, by any accident, may become occasion of a scandal, it is certain that they must be ordered as all other things are, in which the public is certainly concerned, that is, by the rulers of the Church, who are answerable if there be any miscarriage in the public. Thus far, I suppose, there will not be much question with those who allow set forms, but would have themselves be the composers; they would have the ministers pray for the people, but the ministers shall not be prescribed to; the rulers of the Church shall be the presidents of religious rites, but then they will be the rulers; therefore, we must proceed further; and because I will not now enter into the question, who are left by Christ to govern his Church, I will proceed upon such grounds which, I hope, may be sufficient to determine this question, and yet decline the other. Therefore,

69. Since the Spirit of God is the Spirit of supplication, they to whom the greatest portion of the Spirit is promised, are most competent persons to pray for the people, and to prescribe forms of prayer. But the promise of the Spirit is made to the Church in general, to her in her united capacity, to the whole Church first, then to particular churches, then in the lowest seat of the category to single persons; and we have title to the promises by being members of the Church, and in the communion of saints; which, beside the ' stylus curiæ,' the form of all the great promises, being in general and comprehensive terms, appears in this, that when any single person is out of this communion, he hath also no title to the promises; which yet he might, if he had any upon his own stock, not derivative from the Church. Now, then, I infer, if any single persons will have us to believe, without possibility of proof (for so it must be), that they pray with

the Spirit (for how shall they be able to prove the Spirit actually to abide in those single persons?), then much rather must we believe it of the Church, which, by how much the more general it is, so much the more of the Spirit she is likely to have; and then, if there be no errors in the matter, the Church hath the advantage and probability on her side; and if there be an error in matter in either of them, neither of them have the Spirit, or they make not the true use of it. But the public spirit, in all reason, is to be trusted before the private, when there is a contestation, the Church being 'prior et potior in promissis,' she hath a greater and prior title to the Spirit. And why the Church hath not the spirit of prayer in her compositions as well as any of her children, I desire, once for all, to be satisfied upon true grounds, either of reason or revelation. And if she have, whether she have not as much as any single person? If she have but as much, then there is as much reason in respect of the Divine assistance, that the Church should make the forms, as that any single minister should, and more reason in respect of order and public influence, and care, and charge of souls: but if she have a greater portion of the Spirit than a single person, that is, if the whole be greater than the part, or the public better than the private, then it is evident, that the Spirit of the Church, in respect of the Divine assistance, is chiefly, and in respect of order is only, to be relied upon for public provisions and forms of prayer.

70. But now if the Church, in her united capacity, makes prayers for the people, they cannot be supposed to be other than limited and determined forms; for it is not practicable, or, indeed, imaginable, that a synod of church governors, be they who they will, so they be of Christ's appointment, should meet in every church, and pray as every man list; their counsels are united, and their results are conclusions and final determinations, which, like general propositions, are applicable to particular instances: so that, first, since the Spirit be the great dictator of holy prayers; and, secondly, the Spirit is promised to the Church in her united capacity; and, thirdly, in proportion to the assembled, 'cæteris paribus,' so are measures of the Spirit poured out; and, fourthly, when the Church is assembled, the prayers *which* they teach the people, are limited and prescribed

forms; it follows, that limited and prescribed forms are, in all reason, emanations from the greatest portion of the Spirit, warranted by special promises, which are made to every man there present, that does his duty, as a private member of the Christian Church, and are due to him as a ruler of the Church, and yet more especially, and in a further degree, to all them met together; where, if ever, the Holy Spirit gives such helps and graces which relate to the public government, and have influence upon the communities of Christians, that is, will bless their meeting, and give them such assistances as will enable them to do the work for which they convene.

71. But yet if any man shall say, 'What need the Church meet in public synods, to make forms of prayer, when private ministers are able to do it in their several parishes?' I answer, 'It is true, many can, but they cannot do it better than a council;' and I think no man is so impudent as to say he can do it so well; however, 'quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet,—the matter is of public concernment, and therefore should be of public consultation,' and the advantages of publicly described forms I shall afterward specify. In the meantime,

72. Fifthly, And the Church, I mean the rulers of the Church, are appointed presidents of religious rites; and as the rulers, in conjunction, are enabled to do it best by the advantages of special promises, and double portions of the Spirit, so she always did practise this, either in conjunction or by single dictate, by public persons or united authority; but in all times, as necessity required, they prescribed set forms of prayer.

73. If I should descend to minutes and particulars, I could instance, in the behalf of set forms, that, First, God prescribed to Moses a set form of prayer and benediction, to be used when he did bless the people. Secondly, That Moses composed a song or hymn, for the children of Israel to use, to all their generations. Thirdly, That David composed many for the service of the tabernacle, and every company of singers was tied to certain psalms, as the very titles intimate; and the psalms were such limited and determinate prescriptions, that in some, God's Spirit did bind them to the very number of the letters, and order of the alphabet. Fourthly, That Solomon, and the holy kings of Judah, brought

them in, and continued them, in the ministration of the temple. Fifthly, That in the reformation by Hezekiah, the priests and Levites were commanded to praise the Lord, 'in the words of David and Asaph.'[p] Sixthly, That 'all Scripture is written for our learning;' and since all these, and many more set forms of prayer, are left there upon record, it is more than probable, that they were left there for our use and devotion; and certainly, it is as lawful, and as prudent, to pray Scriptures, as to read Scriptures; and it were well, if we would use ourselves to the expression of Scripture, and that the language of God were familiar to us, that we spake the words of Canaan, not the speech of Ashdod; and time was, when it was thought the greatest ornament of a spiritual person, and instrument of a religious conversation; but then the consequents would be, that these prayers were the best forms which were in the words of Scripture, and those psalms and prayers there recorded were the best devotions, but these are set forms. 7. To this purpose I could instance, in the example of St. John the Baptist, who taught his disciples a form of prayer; and that Christ's disciples begged the same favour, and it was granted as they desired it.

74. And here I mean to fix a little, for this ground cannot fail us. I say, Christ prescribed a set form of prayer to be used by all his disciples, as a breviary of prayer, as a rule of their devotions, as a repository of their need, and as a direct address to God. For in this prayer God did not only command us to make our prayers, as Moses was bid to make the tabernacle, after the pattern which God shewed him in the mount, and Christ shewed his apostles;[q] but he hath given us the very tables written with his own hand, that we should use them as they are so delivered; this prayer was not only a precedent and pattern, but an instance of address, a perfect form for our practice as well as imitation. For,

75. First, When Christ was upon the mount, he gave it for a pattern οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς. 'So pray ye,' or *after this manner;* which we expound only to the sense of becoming a pattern, or a directory, it is observable, that it is not only directory for the matter, but for the manner too; and if we must pray with that matter, and in that manner,

[p] 2 Chron. xxix. 30. [q] Matt. v. 1. and vi. 9.

what does that differ from praying with that form? However, it is well enough, that it becomes a precedent to us, in any sense, and the Church may vary her forms, according as she judges best for edification.

76. Secondly, When the apostles, upon occasion of the form which the Baptist taught his disciples, begged of their Master to teach them one, he again taught them this, and added a precept to use these very words;[r] ὅταν προσεύχεσθε, λέγετε·—"when ye pray, say, Our Father," ἔδει γὰρ μηδὲν ἴδιον αὐτοὺς λέγειν: when they spake to God, it was fit they should speak in his words, in whose name also their prayers only could be acceptable.[s]

77. Thirdly, For if we must speak this sense, why also are not the very words to be retained? Is there any error or imperfection in the words? Was not Christ master of his language? And were not his words sufficiently expressive of his sense? Will not the prayer do well also in our tongues, which as a duty we are obliged to deposit in our hearts, and preserve in our memories, without which it is in all senses useless, whether it be only a pattern or a repository of matter?

78. Fourthly, And it is observable, that our blessed Saviour doth not say, 'Pray that the name of your heavenly Father may be sanctified, or that your sins may be forgiven,' but say, "Hallowed be thy name," &c. so that he prescribes this prayer, not in 'massa materiæ,' but in 'forma verborum,' not 'in a confused heap of matter,' but in 'an exact composure of words,' it makes it evident he intended it not only 'pro regula petendorum,—for a direction of what things we are to ask,' but also 'pro forma orationis,—for a set form of prayer.' Now it is considerable that no man ever had the fulness of the Spirit, but only the holy Jesus, and, therefore, it is also certain, that no man had the spirit of prayer like to him; and then, if we pray this prayer devoutly, and with pious and actual intention, do we not pray in the Spirit of Christ, as much as if we prayed any other form of words pretended to be taught us by the Spirit? We are sure that Christ and Christ's Spirit taught us this prayer: they only gather by conjectures and opinions, that in their extempore

[r] *Luke, xi. 2.* [s] Proæres. ap. Eunapium.

or conceived forms, the Spirit of Christ teacheth them. So much, then, as certainties are better than uncertainties, and God's word better than man's, so much is this set form, besides the infinite advantages in the matter, better than their extempore and conceived forms, in the form itself. And if ever any prayer was, or could be, a part of that 'doctrine of faith' by which 'we received the Spirit,'[1] it must needs be this prayer, which was the only form our blessed Master taught the Christian Church immediately; was a part of his great and glorious sermon in the mount, in which all the needs of the world are sealed up as in a treasure-house, and intimated by several petitions, as diseases are, by their proper and proportioned remedies; and which Christ published, as the first emanation of his Spirit, the first perfume of that heavenly anointing, which descended on his sacred head, when he went down into the waters of baptism.

79. This we are certain of, that there is nothing wanting, nothing superfluous and impertinent, nothing carnal or imperfect, in this prayer; but as it supplies all needs, so it serves all persons, is fitted for all estates, it meets with all accidents, and no necessity can surprise any man, but if God hears him praying that prayer, he is provided for in that necessity: and yet, if any single person paraphrases it, it is not certain but the whole sense of a petition may be altered by the intervention of one improper word, and there can be no security given against this, but qualified and limited, and just in such a proportion as we can be assured of the wisdom and honesty of the person, and the actual assistance of the Holy Spirit.

80. Now, then, I demand, whether the prayer of Manasses be so good a prayer as the Lord's Prayer? or is the prayer of Judith, or of Tobias, or of Judas Maccabeus, or of the son of Sirach, is any of these so good? Certainly no man will say they are; and the reason is, because we are not sure they are inspired by the Holy Spirit of God; prudent, and pious, and conformable to religion they may be, but not penned by so excellent a spirit as this prayer. And what assurance can be given, that any minister's prayer is better than the prayers of the son of Sirach, who was a very wise,

[1] Gal. iii. 2.

and a very good man, as all the world acknowledges: I know not any one of them that has so large a testimony, or is of so great reputation. But suppose they can make as good prayers, yet surely they are apocryphal at least; and for the same reason that the apocryphal prayers are not so excellent as the Lord's Prayer, by the same reason must the best they can be imagined to compose, fall short of this excellent pattern, by how much they partake of a smaller portion of the Spirit, as a drop of water is less than all the waters under or above the firmament.

81. Secondly, I would also willingly know, whether if any man uses the form which Christ taught, supposing he did not tie us to the very prescript words, can there be any hurt in it? Is it imaginable, that any commandment should be broken, or any affront done to the honour of God, or any act of imprudence, or irreligion in it, or any negligence of any insinuation of the Divine pleasure? I cannot yet think of any thing to frame for answer, so much as by way of an antinomy or objection. But then supposing Christ did tie us to use this prayer 'pro loco et tempore,' according to the nature and obligation of all affirmative precepts, as it is certain he did, in the preceptive words recorded by St. Luke, "When ye pray, say, Our Father," then it is to be considered that a Divine commandment is broken by its rejection; and, therefore, if there were any doubt remaining, whether it be a command or no; yet since, on one side, there is danger of a negligence, and a contempt, and that on the other side, the observation and conformity cannot be criminal or imprudent; it will follow, that the retaining of this prayer in practice, and suffering it to do all its intentions, and particularly becoming the great *αὐθεντία*, or 'authority' for set forms of prayer, is the safest, most prudent, most Christian understanding of those words of Christ, propounding the Lord's prayer to the Christian Church. And because it is impossible that all particulars should be expressed in any form of prayer, because particulars are not only casual and accidental, but also infinite; Christ, according to that wisdom he had without measure, framed a prayer, which, by a general comprehension, should include all particulars, eminently and virtually; so that there should be no defect in it,—and yet so short, that the most imperfect memories might retain and use it.

82. And it is not amiss to observe, that our blessed Saviour first taught this prayer to be a remedy, and a reproof of the vain repetition of the Pharisees; and besides that it was so 'à priori,' we also, in the event, see the excellent spirit and wisdom in the constitution; for those persons who have laid aside the Lord's prayer, have been noted by common observation to be very long in their forms, and troublesome, and vain enough in their repetitions; they have laid aside the medicine, and the old wound bleeds afresh; the Pharisees did so of old.

83. And after all this, it is strange employment, that any man should be put to justify the wisdom and prudence of any of Christ's institutions; as if any of his servants, who are wise upon his stock, instructed by his wisdom, made knowing by his revelations, and whose all that is good, is but a weak ray of the glorious light of the Sun of Righteousness, should dare to think that the derivative should be before the primitive, the current above the fountain; and that we should derive all our excellence from him, and yet have some beyond him, that is, some which he never had, or which he was not pleased to manifest; or that we should have a spirit of prayer, able to make productions beyond his prayer, who received the Spirit without measure. But this is not the first time man hath disputed against God.

84. And now let us consider, with sobriety, not only of this excellent prayer, but of all that are deposited in the primitive records of our religion. Are not those prayers and hymns in Holy Scripture excellent compositions, admirable instruments of devotion, full of piety, rare and incomparable addresses to God? Dare any man, with his gift of prayer, pretend that he can, extempore or by study, make better? Who dares pretend that he hath a better spirit than David had? or than the apostles and prophets, and other holy persons in Scripture, whose prayers and psalms are, by God's Spirit, consigned to the use of the Church for ever? Or will it be denied, but that they also are excellent directories and patterns for prayer? And if patterns, the nearer we draw to our example, are not the imitations and representments the better? And what then, if we took the samplers themselves? Is there any imperfection in them, and can we *mend* them, and correct the 'Magnificat?' The very matter

of these, and the author, no less than Divine, cannot but justify the forms, though set, determined, and prescribed.

85. In a just proportion and commensuration, I argue so concerning the primitive and ancient forms of church-service, which are composed according to those so excellent patterns, which, if they had remained pure, as in the first institution, or had always been as they had been reformed by the Church of England, they would, against all defiance, put in for the next place to those forms of liturgy, which, 'mutatis mutandis,' are nothing but the words of Scripture. But I am resolved, at this present, not to enter into question concerning the matter of prayers.

86. Next, we must inquire what the apostles did, in obedience to the precept of Christ, and what the Church did, in imitation of the apostles. That the apostles did use the prayer their Lord taught them, I think need not much be questioned; they could have no other end of their desire; and it had been a strange boldness to ask for a form which they intended not to use, or a strange levity not to do what they intended. But I consider they had a double capacity; they were of the Jewish religion by education, and now Christians by a new institution; in the first capacity they used those set forms of prayer which their nation used in their devotions. Christ and his apostles sang a hymn, part of the great allelujah,[u] which was usually sung at the end of the paschal supper: "After the supper they sang a hymn," says the evangelist. The Jews also used, every sabbath, to sing the 92d psalm, which is therefore entitled, 'A song, or psalm, for the sabbath;' and they who observed the hours of prayer, and vows, according to the rites of the temple, need not be suspected to have omitted the Jewish forms of prayer. And as they complied with the religious customs of the nation, worshipping according to the Jewish manner, it is also in reason to be presumed, they were worshippers according to the new Christian institution, and used that form their Lord taught them.

87. Now, that they tied themselves to recitation of the very words of Christ's prayer 'pro loco et tempore,' I am, therefore, easy to believe, because I find they were

[u] Vid. Scalig. de Emend. Tempor. de Judeor. Mag. Allelujah.

strict, to a scruple, in retaining the sacramental words which Christ spake, when he instituted the blessed sacrament, insomuch that not only three evangelists, but St. Paul also, not only making a narrative of the institution, but teaching the Corinthians the manner of its celebration, to a tittle he recites the words of Christ. Now, the action of the consecrator is not a theatrical representment of the action of Christ, but a sacred, solemn, and sacramental prayer,[x] in which, since the apostles at first, and the Church ever after, did, with reverence and fear, retain the very words, it is not only a probation of the question in general, in behalf of set forms, but also a high probability that they retained the Lord's prayer, and used it to an ἴσον, in the very form of words.

88. And I the rather make the inference from the preceding argument, because of the cognation one hath with the other; for the apostle did also, in the consecration of the eucharist, use the Lord's prayer; and that, together with the words of institution, was the only form of consecration, saith St. Gregory;[y] and St. Jerome affirms, that the apostles, by the command of their Lord, used this prayer[z] in the benediction of the elements.

89. But besides this, when the apostles had received great measures of the Spirit, and, by their gift of prayer, composed more forms for the help and comfort of the Church, and contrary to the order in the first creation, the light which was in the body of the sun, was now diffused over the face of the new heavens and the new earth; it became a precept evangelical, that we should praise 'God in hymns, and psalms,

[x] Imò totus canon consecrationis tam similis est et ferè idem in verbis apud Græcos, Latinos, Arabas, Armenios, Syros, Ægyptios, Æthiopes, ut nisi à communi fonte, qui nisi apostolorum non est, manare non potuerit. Unde intelligi datur (quia multum erat, ut in epistolâ, notum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat ecclesia) ab ipso ordinatum esse, quod nullâ morum diversitate variatur. — *S. Aug.* ep. 118.

[y] Greg. lib. vii. ep. 63. Hier. lib. cont. Pelag.

[z] Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis, vel penè omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici; orationes cum benedicitur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur: quam totam orationem, penè omnis ecclesia Dominicâ Oratione concludit.—*S. Aug.* ep. 59. q. 5. ad illud Pauli, '*obsecro* primum omnium fieri obsecrationes.'

and spiritual songs,'[a] which is so certain, that they were compositions of industry and deliberation, and yet were sung in the spirit, that he who denies the last, speaks against Scriptures; he who denies the first, speaks against reason, and would best confute himself, if, in the highest of his pretence of the Spirit, he would venture at some extempore hymns. And of this we have the express testimony of St. Austin; "de hymnis et psalmis canendis haberi Domini et apostolorum documenta, et utilia præcepta."[b] And the Church obeyed them; for as an ancient author, under the name of Dionysius Areopagita, relates, the chief of the clerical and ministering order, offer bread upon the altar, "Cum ecclesiastici omnes laudem hymnumque generalem Deo tribuerunt, cum quibus pontifex sacras preces ritè perficit," &c.—"They all sing one hymn to God, and the bishop prays 'ritè,' according to the ritual, or constitution;" which, in no sense of the Church, or of grammar, can be understood without a solemn and determined form; ὑμνεῖν, says Casaubon, is 'cantare, idem sæpiùs dicere, apud Græcos παλιλλογία;'[c] they were forms of praising God, used constantly, periodically, and in the daily offices. And the fathers of the Council of Antioch complain against Paulus Samosatenus, "Quod psalmos et cantus, qui ad Domini nostri Jesu Christi honorem decantari solent, tanquam recentiores, et à viris recentioris memoriæ editos exploserit;—The quarrel was, that he said the Church had used to say hymns which were made by new men, and not derived from the ancients;"[d] which, if we consider that the Council of Antioch was in the twelfth year of Gallienus the emperor, one hundred and thirty-three years after Christ's ascension, will fairly prove that the use of prescribed forms of prayer, hymns, and forms of worshipping, were very early in the Church; and it is unimaginable it should be otherwise, when we remember the apostolical precept before mentioned. And if we fancy a higher precedent than what was manifested upon earth, we may please to see one observed to have been made in heaven; for a set form of worship, and address to God, was recorded by St. John,[e] and sung in heaven; and it was composed out

[a] Col. iii. 16. [b] Epist. 119. c. 18. [c] In Theophrast. Charact.
[d] Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. 24. Et Walast. Strabo. c. 25. de Reb. Eccles.
[e] *Apoc. xv. 3.*

of the songs of Moses,[f] of David,[g] and of Jeremy,[h] which certainly is a very good precedent for us to imitate, although but revealed by St. John, by way of vision and ecstasy, that we may see, if we would speak with the tongue of men and angels, we could not praise God in better forms than what are recorded in Holy Scripture.

90. But, besides the metrical part, the apostle hath described other parts of liturgy in Scripture, whose composition, though it be in determined forms of words, yet not so bound up with numbers, as hymns: and these St. Paul calls 'supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks,' which are several manners of address distinguished by their subject matter, by their form and manner of address. As appears plainly by 'intercessions and giving of thanks;' the other are also, by all men, distinguished, though in the particular assignment they differ; but the distinction of the words implies the distinction of offices, which, together with the τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν προφήτων, the 'lectionarium' of the Church, the books of the apostles and prophets, spoken of by Justin Martyr, and said to be used in the Christian congregations, are the constituent parts of liturgy; and the exposition of the words we best learn from the practice of the Church, who in all ages, of whose public offices any record is left to us, took their pattern from these places of Scripture, the one for prose, the other for verse; and if we take liturgy into its several parts, or members, we cannot want something to apply to every one of the words of St. Paul, in these present allegations.[i]

91. For the offices of prose we find but small mention of them in the very first time, save only in general terms, and that such there were, and that St. James, St. Mark, St. Peter, and others of the apostles and apostolical men, made liturgies; and if these which we have at this day were not theirs, yet they make probation that these apostles left others, or else they were impudent people that prefixed their names so early, and the churches were very incurious

[f] Exod. xv. [g] Psalm cxlv. [h] Chap. x. 6, 7.

[i] Δίησις, παράκλησις, ἢ χρεία. Ἔντευξις, ἀπάντησις κατὰ τῶν πλημμεληκότων δίησις ὡς ἀδίκησιν. Εὔχεσθαι, ἱκετεύειν, καυχᾶσθαι, αὔχειν, λίγειν. Ἱκετήσιος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν Ζεύς, ἢ ὁ τοὺς ἱκέτας ἱλεῶν. Hesych. vide S. August. ep. 59. q. 5. in hunc locum: descripsi verba ad sect. 86.

to swallow such a bole, if no pretension could have been reasonably made for their justification. But, concerning church hymns, we have clearer testimony in particular, both because there were many of them, and because they were dispersed more, soon got by heart, passed also among the people, and were pious arts of the Spirit, whereby holy things were instilled into their souls by the help of fancy, and a more easy memory. The first civilising of the people used to be by poetry, and their divinity was conveyed by songs and verses;[k] and the apostle exhorted the Christians, 'To exhort one another in psalms and hymns,' for he knew the excellent advantages were likely to accrue to religion by such an insinuation of the mysteries. Thus St. Hilary and St. Ambrose composed hymns for the use of the Church, and St. Austin made a hymn against the schism of Donatus; which hymns, when they were publicly allowed of, were used in public offices; not till then; for Paulus Samosatenus had brought women into the Church to sing vain and trifling songs; and some bishops took to themselves too great and incurious a license, and brought hymns into the Church, whose gravity and piety was not very remarkable; upon occasion of which, the fathers of the Council of Laodicea ordained, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ,—"No psalms of private composition must be brought into the Church;" so Gentian Harvet renders it; Isidore translates it "Psalmos ab idiotis compositos;—Psalms made by common persons." "Psalms usually sung abroad," so Dionysius Exiguus calls them, "Psalmos plebeios:" but I suppose by the following words is meant that none but Scripture psalms shall be read there; for so the canon adds, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης,—"Nothing to be read in the Church but books of the Old and New Testament." And this interpretation agrees well enough with the occasion of the canon which I now mentioned.

92. This only by the way, the reddition of ψαλμοὺς ἰδιωτικοὺς by Isidore, to be 'psalms made by common persons,' whom the Scripture calls ἰδιώτας,—'ignorant, or unlearned,' is agreeable enough with that of St. Paul, who intimates that

[k] Ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere. Tertul. Apolog.

prayers, and forms of liturgies, are to be composed 'for them, not by them;' they were never thought of to be persons competent to make forms of prayers themselves: for St. Paul[1] speaks of such a one as of a person coming into the church to hear the prophets pray, and sing, and interpret, and prophesy, and ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται, ὑπὸ πάντων,—"He is reproved of all, and judged of all;" and, therefore, the most unfit person in the world to bring any thing that requires great ability, and great authority, to obtrude it upon the Church, his rulers, and his judges. And this was not unhandsomely intimated by the word sometimes used by the Εὐχολόγιον of the Greek Church, calling the public liturgy κοντάκιον, which signifies 'prayers made for the use of the 'idiotæ, or private persons,' as the word is contradistinguished from the rulers of the Church. Κοντὸς signifies 'contum,' and κοντῷ πλεῖν, is as much as προσηκόντως ζῆν, 'to live in the condition of a private person;' and, in the vulgar Greek, says Arcadius, κοντος and κονταχῆνος ἄνθρωπος signify 'a little man, of a low stature,' from which two significations κοντάκιον may well enough design 'a short form of prayer, made for the use of private persons.' And this was reasonable, and part of the religion even of the heathen, as well as Christians; the presidents of their religion were to find prayers for the people, and teach them forms of address to their gods.

> Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
> Disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
> Poscit opem chorus, et præsentia numina sentit;
> Cœlestes implorat aquas, docta prece blandus;
> Carmine Di superi placantur, carmine Manes.[m]

But this by the way.

93. But, because I am casually fallen upon mention of the Laodicean Council, and that it was very ancient, before the Nicene, and of very great reputation, both in the east and in the west, it will not be a contemptible addition to the reputation of set forms of liturgy, that we find them so early in the Church reduced to a very regular and composed manner. The fifteenth canon suffers none to sing in the Church, but the ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψάλλοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀμβῶνα

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. [m] Hor. ep. ii. 1, 132.

ἀναβαίνοντες,—'they that sing by book, and go up into the pulpit;' they were the same persons; and the manner of doing their office was their appellative, which shews plainly that the known custom of the Church was for them who were in the ἀμβὼν,—'in the pulpit,' to read their offices and devotions. They read them ἀπὸ διφθέρας, that is the word in the canon. Those things which signify the greatest, or first antiquity, are said to be ἐν διφθέρᾳ γραφόμενα· Ἀρχαιότερα διφθέρας λαλεῖς, was spoken proverbially, to signify 'ancient things:' and Ζεὺς, κατεῖδε Κρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας: so that if these fathers chose these words as grammarians, 'the singers ἀπὸ διφθέρας,' were 'such as sung ancient hymns of primitive antiquity;' which also is the more credible, because the persons were noted and distinguished by their employment, as a thing known by so long a use, till it came to be their appellative. The seventeenth and eighteenth canons command, that lessons and psalms should be said interchangeably, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑννάταις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι,—"and the same *liturgy* (that is the word), or office of prayers, to be said always at nones and vespers." This shews the manner of executing their office of psalmists and readers; they did not sing or say extempore, but they read prayers and psalms, and sung them out of a book; neither were they brought in fresh and new at every meeting, but it was αὐτὴ λειτουργία πάντοτε, 'still the same form of prayers,' without variation.

94. But, then, if we remember how ancient this office was in the Church, and that the ἀναγνώσται and ψάλται,—'the readers and singers' were clerical offices, deputed for public ministry about prayers and devotions in the Church (for so we are told by Simeon Thessalonicensis, in particular, concerning the ἀναγνώστης, καὶ τοὺς θείους προλέγει τοῖς ψάλλουσιν ὕμνους, ἤτοι κανοναρχεῖ,—'He does dictate the hymns to the singers;' and then of the singers there is no question); and that these two offices were so ancient in the Church, that they were mentioned by St. Ignatius,[n] who was contemporary with the latter times of the apostles;—we may well believe that set and described forms of liturgy were as early as the days of the apostles, and continued in the continuation

[n] Epist. ad Antiochen.: memorantur etiam in 25° Canone Apostolorum.

of those and the like offices, in all descending ages. Of the same design and intimation were those known offices in the Greek Church, of the Κανονάρχης and the Ὑποζολεὺς, which Socrates speaks of, as of an office in the Church of Alexandria, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναγνώσται καὶ ὑποζολεῖς διάφοροι, εἴτε κατηχούμενοί εἰσιν εἴτε πιστοί, &c. Their office was the same with the reader; they did 'ex præscripto præire, et ad verbum referre,' the same which ab Alexandro notes to have been done in the religious rites of heathen Greece; the first read out of a book the appointed prayers, and the others rehearsed them after. Now, it is unimaginable that constant officers should be appointed to say an office, and no public office be described.

95. I shall add but this one thing more, and pass on 'ad alia.' And that is, that I never yet saw any instance, example, or pretence of precedent of any bishop, priest, or lay-person, that ever prayed extempore in the Church; and although, in some places, single bishops, or, peradventure, other persons of less authority, did oftentimes bring prayers of their own° into the Church; yet ever they were compositions and premeditations, and were brought thither there to be repeated often, and added to the liturgy; and although the liturgies, while they were less full than since they have been, were apt to receive the additions of pious and excellent persons, yet the inconvenience grew so great, by permitting any forms but what were approved by a public spirit, that the Church, as she always had forms of public prescription, so she resolved to permit no mixture of any thing but what was warranted by an equal power, that the spirits of the prophets might be subject to the prophets, and such spirits, when they are once tried, whether they be of God or no, tried by a lawful superior, and a competent judge, may then venture into the open air. And it were a strange imprudence, choosingly to entertain those inconveniences which our wiser forefathers felt, and declared, and remedied. For why should we be in love with that evil, against which they so carefully armed their churches, by the provision and defence of laws? For this produced that canon of the Council of Milevis, in Africa; "Placuit ut preces quæ probatæ

° De proprio ingenio, de pectore sine monitore, we find once in Tertullian.

fuerint in concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesiâ, nisi quæ à prudentioribus factæ fuerint in Synodo." That is the restraint and prohibition; "public prayers must be such as are publicly appointed and prescribed by our superiors, and no private forms of our conceiving must be used in the Church." The reason follows: "Ne fortè aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum;—Lest, through ignorance, or want of deliberation, any thing be spoken in our prayers against faith" and good manners. Their reason is good, and they are witnesses of it, who hear the variety of prayers, before and after sermons, there, where the Directory is practised,—where, to speak most modestly, not only their private opinions, but also human interests, and their own personal concernments, and wild fancies, born, perhaps, not two days before, are made the objects of the people's hopes, of their desires, and their prayers; and all in the meantime pretend to the Holy Spirit.

96. Thus far we are gone. The Church hath, 1. power and authority; and, 2. command; 3. and ability, or promise of assistances, to make public forms of liturgy; and, 4. the Church always did so, in all descents from Moses to Christ, from Christ to the apostles, from them all to all descending ages; for I have instanced till St. Austin's time; and since, there is no question, the people were ἀντίγραφα ἔχοντες τῶν συνηθῶν ἀγιῶν εὐχῶν ἀπαραλλαχτικὰ μεταγραφέντα ἐκ κοντακίου, as Balsamon says of those of the Greek communion;—"they used unalterable forms of prayers, described out of the books of public liturgy." It remains only, that I consider upon what reason, and grounds of prudence and religion, the Church did so; and whether she did well or no. In order to which, I consider,—

97. First, every man hath personal needs of his own, and he that understands his own condition, and hath studied the state of his soul, in order to eternity,—his temporal estate, in order to justice and charity,—and the constitution and necessities of his body, in order to health,—and his health, in order to the service of God, as every wise and good man does, will find that no man can make such provision for his necessities as he can do for his own; 'cæteris paribus,' no man 'knows the things of a man but the spirit of the man;'

and, therefore, if he have proportionable abilities, it is allowed to him, and it is necessary for him, to represent his own conditions to God; and he can best express his own sense, or at least best sigh forth his own meaning; and if he be a good man, the Spirit will make intercession for him with those 'unutterable groans.' Besides this, every family hath needs proper to it, in the capacity of a family, and those are to be represented by the master of the family; whom men of the other persuasion are apt to confess to be a priest in his own family, and a king; and "sacrorum omnium potestas sub regibus esto," they are willing in this sense to acknowledge; and they call upon him to perform family duties, that is, all the public devotions of the family are to be ordered by him.

98. Now, that this is to be done by a set form of words, is acknowledged by Didoclavius: "Nam licet in conclavi pater familiâs verbis exprimere animi affectus pro arbitrio potest, quia Dominus cor intuetur et affectus, tamen publicè coram totâ familiâ idem absque indecoro non potest."[p] If he prays extempore, without a set form of prayer, he may commit many an indecency; a set and described form of prayer is most convenient in a family, that children and servants may be enabled to remember, and tacitly recite the prayer together with the 'major domo.' But I rely not upon this, but proceed upon this consideration:—

99. As private persons and as families, so also have churches their special necessities, in a distinct capacity; and, therefore, God hath provided for them 'rulers and feeders,' priests and presidents of religion, who are to represent all their needs to God, and to make provisions. Now, because the Church cannot all meet in one place, but, the harvest being great, it is bound up in several bundles, and divided into many congregations, for all which the rulers and stewards of this great family are to provide, and yet cannot be present in those particular societies, it is necessary that they should have influence upon them by a general provision, and, therefore, that they should take care that their common needs should be represented to God by set forms of

[p] Altare Damascenum.

prayer, for they only can be provided by rulers, and used by their ministers and deputies; such as must be one in the 'principe,' and diffused in the execution; and it is a better expression of their care and duty for the rulers to provide the bread and bless it, and then give it to them, who must minister it in small portions, and to particular companies (for so Christ did), than to leave them,—who are not, in the same degree, answerable for the churches as the rulers are,—to provide their food, and break it, and minister it too. The very economy of Christ's family requires that the dispensations be made according to every man's capacity. The general stewards are to divide to every man his portion of work, and to give them their food in due season, and the under servants are to do that work which is appointed them: so Christ appointed in the Gospel, and so the Church hath practised in all ages; "Indè enim per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia supra episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur."[q] When the rulers are few (for the ecclesiastical regiment is not democratical), and the under offices many, and the companies numerous, for all which those few rulers are bound to provide, and prayer and offices of devotion are one of the greatest instances of provision, it is impossible there should be any sufficient care taken, or caution used, by those rulers, in the matter of prayers, but for them to make such prescript forms which may be used by all companies under their charge; that since they are to represent all the needs of all their people, because they cannot be present by their persons in all societies, they may be present by their care and provisions, which is then done best when they make prescript forms of prayer, and provide pious ministers to dispense it.

100. Secondly, it is in the very nature of public prayer, that it be made by a public spirit, and performed by a public consent. For public and private prayer are certainly two distinct duties; but they are least of all distinguished by the place, but most of all by the spirit that dictates the prayer, and the consent in the recitation; and it is a private prayer, which either one man makes, though spoken in public, as

[q] S. Cyprian. ep. 27.

the Laodicean Council calls ψαλμοὺς ἰδιωτικοὺς, — 'private psalms,' or which is not attested by public consent of minds; and it is a public prayer, which is made by the public spirit, and consented to by a general acceptation; and, therefore, the 'Lord's prayer,' though spoken in private, is a public form, and, therefore, represented plurally. And the place is very extrinsical to the nature of prayer: "I will that men pray every where, lifting up pure hands:"[r] and retiring into a closet is only advised for the avoiding of hypocrisy, not for the greater excellence of the duty. So that if public prayer have advantages beyond private prayer, or upon its own stock, besides it,—the more public influences it receives, the more excellent it is. And hence I conclude, that set forms of prayer, composed and used by the Church—I mean by the rulers in conjunction and union, of heads and councils, and used by the Church; I mean the people in union and society of hearts and spirits—hath two very great advantages which other prayers have not.

101. For, first, it is more truly public, and hath the benefit of those helps which God, who never is deficient to supply any of our needs, gives to public persons in order to public necessities, by which I mean its emanation from a public, and, therefore, a more excellent spirit. And, secondly, it is the greatest instance of union in the world; for since God hath made faith, hope, and charity, the ligaments of the communion of saints,—and common prayer, which not only all the governments have propounded as most fit, but in which all the people are united, is a great testimony of the same faith, and a common hope, and mutual charity,—because they confess the same God whom they worship, and the same articles which they recite, and labour towards the same hope, 'the mighty price of their high calling,' and by praying for each other in the same sense, and to the same purpose, doing the same to them that I desire they should do for me, do testify, and preserve, and increase their charity;—it follows, that common and described prayers are the most excellent instrument, and act, and ligament of the communion of saints, and the great common term of the Church, in its degrees of catholic capacity. And, therefore, saith St. Ignatius, πάντες

[r] 1 Tim. ii. 8.

ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ἅμα συνέρχεσθε,—"All meet together, and join to common prayers:" μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς ἔστω,—"Let there be one mind, and let there be one prayer." That is the true communion of Christians.

102. And in pursuance of this, I consider, that if all Christian Churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve, the catholic communion; and whenever a schism was commenced, and that they called one another heretic, they not only forsook to pray with one another, but they also altered their forms, by interposition of new clauses, hymns, and collects, and new rites and ceremonies. Only those parts that combined, kept the same liturgy: and, indeed, the same forms of prayer were so much the instrument of union, that it was the only ligament of their society; for their creeds I reckon as part of their liturgy, for so they ever were. So that this may teach us a little to guess, I will not say into how many churches, but into how many innumerable atoms and minutes of churches, those Christians must needs be scattered, who alter their forms according to the number of persons, and the number of their meetings, every company having a new form of prayer at every convention. And this consideration will not be vain, if we remember how great a blessing unity in churches is, and how hard to be kept with all the arts in the world, and how every thing is powerful enough for its dissolution. But that a public form of liturgy was the great instrument of communion in the Primitive Church, appears in this, that the καθαίρεσις, or 'excommunication,' was an exclusion, "à communicatione orationis, et conventûs, et omnis sancti commercii;—from the participation of the public meeting and prayers;" and, therefore, the more united the prayer is, still it is the greater instrument of union: the authority and consent, the public spirit, and common acceptation, are so many degrees of a more firm and indissoluble communion.

103. Thirdly; to this I add, that without prescribed forms, issues of the public spirit and authority, public communion cannot be regular and certain, as may appear in one or two plain instances. It is a practice prevailing among those of our brethren that are zealous for extempore, or not enjoined prayers, to pray their sermons over, to reduce their

doctrine into devotion and liturgy. I mislike it not for the thing itself, if it were regularly, for the manner and the matter, always pious and true. But who shall assure me, when the preacher hath disputed, or rather dogmatically decreed, a point of predestination or of prescience, of contingency or of liberty, or any of the most mysterious parts of divinity, and then prays his sermon over, that he then prays with the Spirit? Unless I be sure that he also preached with the Spirit, I cannot be sure that he prays with the Spirit, for all he prays extempore. Nay, if I hear a protestant preach in the morning, and an anabaptist in the afternoon, to-day a presbyterian, to-morrow an independent, am I not most sure that when they have preached contradictories, and all of them pray their sermons over, that they do not all pray with the Spirit? More than one in this case cannot pray with the Spirit; possibly all may pray against him.

104. Fourthly; from whence I thus argue in behalf of 'set forms of prayer,' that in the case above put, how shall I, or any man else, say 'amen' to their prayers, that preach and pray contradictories? At least, I am much hindered in my devotion. For, besides that it derives our opinions into our devotions, makes every school-point become our religion, and makes God a party, so far as we can, entitling him to our impertinent wranglings; besides this, I say, while we should attend to our addresses towards God, we are to consider whether the point be true, or no; and by that time we have tacitly discoursed it, we are upon another point, which also, perhaps, is as questionable as the former; and by this time our spirit of devotion is a little discomposed, and something out of countenance, there is so much other employment for "the spirit, the spirit of discerning and judging." All which inconveniences are avoided in set forms of liturgy: For we know beforehand the conditions of our communion, and to what we are to say 'amen,' to which, if we like it, we may repair; if not, there is no harm done, your devotion shall not be surprised, nor your communion invaded, as it may be often in your 'extempore prayers,' and unlimited devotions.

105. Fifthly; and this thing hath another collateral inconvenience, which is of great consideration; for upon what

confidence can we solicit any recusants to come to our Church, where we cannot promise them that the devotions, there to be used, shall be innocent, nor can we put him into a condition to judge for himself? If he will venture, he may; but we can use no argument to make him choose our churches, though he would quit his own.

106. Sixthly; So that either the people must have an implicit faith in the priest, and then may most easily be abused; or if they have not, they cannot join in the prayer, it cannot become to them an instrument of communion, but by chance, and irregularly: and 'ex post facto,' when the prayer is approved of, and after the devotion is spent, for till then they cannot judge; and before they do, they cannot say 'amen;' and till 'amen' be said, there is no benefit of the prayer, nor any union of hearts and desires, and, therefore, as yet, no communion.

107. Seventhly; Public forms of prayer are great advantages to convey an article of faith into the most secret retirements of the spirit, and to establish it with a most firm persuasion, and endear it to us with the greatest affection. For, since our prayers are the greatest instruments and conveyances of blessing and mercy to us, that,—which mingles with our hopes, which we owe to God, which is sent of an errand to fetch a mercy for us,—in all reason, will become the dearer to us for all these advantages. And just so is an article of belief inserted into our devotions, and made a part of prayer; it is extremely confirmed by that confidence and πληροφορία, 'fulness of persuasion,' that must exclude all doubting from our prayers; and it insinuates itself into our affection, by being mingled with our desires; and we grow bold in it, by having offered it to God, and made so often acknowledgment of it to him, who 'is not to be mocked.'

108. And, certainly, it were a very strange liturgy in which there were no public confession of faith, for as it were deficient in one act of God's worship, which is offering the understanding up to God, bringing it in subjection to Christ, and making public profession of it, it also loses a very great advantage, which might accrue to faith, by making it a part of our liturgic devotions; and this was so apprehended by the ancients in the Church, our fathers in Christ, that commonly they used to oppose a hymn, or a collect, or a

doxology, in defiance of a new-sprung heresy. The fathers of Nice framed the 'Gloria Patri,' against the Arians. St. Austin composed a hymn against the Donatists. St. Jerome added the 'sicut erat in principio,' against the Macedonians. St. Ambrose framed the 'Te Deum' upon occasion of St. Austin's baptism, but took care to make the hymn to be of most solemn adoration, and yet of prudent institution and public confession, that, according to the advice of St. Paul, we might 'sing with grace in our hearts to the Lord,' and, at the same time, 'teach and admonish one another,' too: now this cannot be done but in set forms of prayer; for, in new devotions and uncertain forms, we may also have an ambulatory faith, and new articles may be offered before every sermon, and at every convention; the Church can have no security to the contrary, nor the article any stable foundation of advantageous insinuation, either into judgment or memory of the persons to be informed or persuaded; but, like Abraham's sacrifice, as soon as his back is turned, the birds shall eat it up. "Quid, quod hæc oratio, quæ sanandis mentibus adhibetur, descendere in nos debet? Remedia non prosunt, nisi immorentur."[a] A cursory prayer shall have a transient effect; when the hand is off, the impression also is gone.

109. Eighthly; Without the description of public forms of prayer, there can be no security given in the matter of our prayers; but we may burn assafœtida for incense, and the marrow of a man's bones instead of the fat of rams; and of all things in the world, we should be most curious that our prayers be not turned into sin; and yet, if they be not prescribed and preconsidered, nothing can secure them antecedently; the people shall go to church, but without confidence that they shall return with a blessing,—for they know not whether God shall have a present made of a holy oblation, or else whether the minister will stand in the gap, or make the gap wider. But this I touched upon before.

110. Ninthly; They preserve the authority and sacredness of government, and, possibly, they are therefore decried, that the reputation of authority may decline together. For as God hath made it the great cancel between the clergy and the people, that they are deputed to speak to God for them, so is it the great distinction of the persons in that

[a] Seneca, ep. 40. 5. Ruhkopf. vol. ii. p. 173.

order, that the rulers shall judge between the ministers and the people, in relation to God, with what addresses they shall come before God, and intercede for the people: for so St. Paul enjoins, that 'the spirits of the prophets should be submitted to the prophets,' viz. to be discerned and judged by them; which thing is not practicable in permissions of every minister to pray what forms he pleases, every day.

111. Tenthly; Public forms of liturgy are also the great securities and basis to the religion and piety of the people; for circumstances govern them most, and the very determination of a public office, and the appointment of that office at certain times, engages their spirits, the first to an habitual, the latter to an actual devotion. It is all that the οἱ πολλοὶ —many men' know of their religion; and they cannot, any way, know it better, than by those forms of prayer which publish their faith, and their devotion to God, and all the world, and which, by an admirable expedient, reduces their faith into practice, and places their religion in their understanding and affections. And, therefore, St. Paul, when he was to give an account of his religion, he did it, not by a mere recitation of the articles, but by giving account of his liturgy, and the manner of his worship. "After that way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers."—And the best worship is the best religion, and, therefore, I am not to trust any man to make my manner of worshipping, unless I durst trust him to be the dictator of my religion; and a form of prayer made by a private man, is also my religion made by a private man. So that we must say "after the manner that G., the minister of B., shall conceive and speak, 'so worship I the God of my fathers;'" and if that be reasonable or pious, let all the world judge.

112. Eleventhly; But when authority shall consider and determine upon a form of liturgy, and this be used and practised in a church, there is an admirable conjunction in the religion, and great co-operation towards the glory of God. The authority of the injunction adds great reputation to the devotion, and takes off the contempt, which, from the no-authority of single and private persons, must be consequent to their conceived prayers; and the public practice of it, and union of spirits in the devotion, satisfies the world in the nature of it, and the religion of the Church.

113. Twelfthly; But nothing can answer for the great scandal which all wise persons, and all good persons in the world, must needs receive, when there is no public testimony consigned, that such a whole nation, or a church, hath any thing that can be called religion, and those little umbrages that are, are casual as chance itself, alterable as time; and shall be good when those infinite numbers of men, that are trusted with it, shall please to be honest, or shall have the good luck not to be mistaken.

114. Thirteenthly; I will not now instance in the vain-glory that is appendant to these new-made, every-day forms of prayer, and that some have been so vain, like the orators Quintilian speaks of, 'ut verbum petant quo incipiant,' that they have published their extempore faculty upon experiment, and scenical bravery, you shall name the instance, and they shall compose the form: amongst whom, also, the gift of the man is more than the devotion of the man; nor will I consider that then this gift is esteemed best, when his prayer is longest; and if he takes a complacency in his gift (as who is not apt to do it?), he will be sure to extend his prayer till a suspicious and scrupulous man would be apt to say, "his prayer pressed hard upon that which our blessed Saviour reprehended in the Pharisees, 'who thought to be heard for their much babbling.'" I know it was observed by a very wise man, that the vanity of spirit and popular opinion that grows great, and talks loudly of his abilities that can speak extempore, may not only be the incentive, but a helper of the faculty, and make a man not only to love it, but to be the more able to do it. "Ad dicendum etiam pudor stimulos habet et dicendorum expectata laus; mirumque videri potest, quod, cum stilus secreto gaudeat, atque omnes arbitros reformidet, extemporalis actio auditorum frequentiâ, ut miles congestu signorum, excitatur. Namque et difficiliorem cogitationem exprimit et expellit dicendi necessitas, et secundos impetus auget placendi cupido. Adeò præmium omnia spectant, ut eloquentia quoque, quanquam plurimum habeat in se voluptatis, maximè tamen præsenti fructu laudis opinionisque ducatur."[t] It may so happen that the opinion of the people, as it is apt to actuate the faculty, so also may

[t] Quintil. x. 7. 16. Spalding, vol. iv. p. 105.

encourage the practice, and spoil the devotion. But these things are accidental to the nature of the thing, and, therefore, though they are too certainly consequent to the person, yet I will not be too severe, but preserve myself on the surer side of a charitable construction, which truly I desire to keep, not only to their persons, whom I much reverence, but also to their actions. But yet I durst not do the same thing, even for these last reasons, though I had no other.

115. In the next place, we must consider the next great objection, that is, with much clamour, pretended, viz. that in set forms of prayer, we restrain and confine the blessed Spirit—and in conceived forms, when every man is left to his liberty, then the Spirit is free, unlimited, and unconstrained.

116. I answer, either their conceived forms (I use their own words, though indeed the expression is very inartificial), are premeditate and described, or they are extempore. If they be premeditate and described, then the Spirit is as much limited in their conceived forms, as in the Church's conceived forms. For as to this particular, it is all one who describes and limits the form, whether the Church or a single man does it, still the Spirit is in constraint and limit. So that in this case they are not angry at set forms of prayer, but that they do not make them. And if it be replied, that if a single person composes a set form, he may alter it if he please, and so his spirit is at liberty; I answer, so may the Church, if she see cause for it; and unless there be cause, the single person will not alter it, unless he do things unreasonable, and without cause. So that it will be an unequal challenge, and a peevish quarrel to allow of set forms of prayer made by private persons, and not of set forms made by the public spirit of the Church. It is evident that the Spirit is limited in both alike.

117. But if, by 'conceived forms' in this objection, they mean extempore prayers (for so they would be thought most generally to practise it), and that in the use of these, the liberty of the Spirit is best preserved; to this I answer, that the being extempore, or premeditate, will be wholly impertinent to this question of limiting the Spirit. For there may be great liberty in set forms, even when there is much variety; and there may be great restraint in extempore prayers, even then when it shall be called unlawful to use set forms. That the

Spirit is restrained, or that it is free in either, is accidental to them both; for it may be either free, or not free, in both, as it may happen.

118. But the restraint is this, that every one is not left to his liberty to pray how he list (with premeditation or without, it makes not much matter), but that he is prescribed unto by the spirit of another. But if it be a fault thus to restrain the Spirit, I would fain know, is not the Spirit restrained when the whole congregation shall be confined to the form of this one man's composing? Or shall it be unlawful, or at least a disgrace and disparagement, to use any set forms, especially of the Church's composition? More plainly thus:—

119. Secondly; Doth not the minister confine and restrain the spirit of the Lord's people, when they are tied to his form? It would sound of more liberty to their spirits, that every one might make a prayer of his own, and all pray together, and not be forced or confined to the minister's single dictate and private spirit. It is true, it would breed confusions, and, therefore, they might pray silently till the sermon began, and not for the avoiding one inconvenience run into a greater, and to avoid the disorder of a popular noise restrain the blessed Spirit; for even in this case as well as in the other, where the Spirit of God is, there must be liberty.

120. Thirdly; If the spirit must be at liberty, who shall assure us this liberty must be in forms of prayer? And if so, whether also it must be in public prayer, and will it not suffice that it be in private? and if in public prayers, is not the liberty of the spirit sufficiently preserved, that the public spirit is free? That is, the Church hath power, upon occasion, to alter and increase her litanies. By what argument shall any man make it so much as probable, that the Holy Ghost is injured, if every private minister's private spirit shall be guided (and, therefore, by necessary consequence, limited) by the authority of the Church's public spirit?

121. Fourthly; Does not the Directory that thing which is here called restraining of the Spirit,—does it not appoint every thing but the words? And after this, is it not a goodly palladium that is contended for, and a princely liberty they leave unto the Spirit, to be free only in the supplying the *place* of a vocabulary, and a 'copia verborum?' For as for

the matter, it is all there described and appointed; and to those determined senses the Spirit must assist, or not at all; only for the words he shall take his choice. Now I desire it may be considered sadly and seriously, is it not as much injury to the Spirit to restrain his matter, as to appoint his words? Which is the more considerable of the two, sense or language, matter or words? I mean when they are taken singly, and separately. For so they may very well be, for as, if men prescribe the matter only, the Spirit may cover it with several words and expressions: so if the Spirit prescribe the words, I may still abound in variety of sense, and preserve the liberty of my meaning; we see that true, in the various interpretations of the same words of Scripture. So that, in the greater of the two, the Spirit is restrained when his matter is appointed; and to make him amends, for not trusting him with matter without our directions and limitations, we trust him to say what he pleases, so it be to our sense, to our purposes. A goodly compensation surely.

122. Fifthly; Did not Christ restrain the spirit of his apostles, when he taught them to pray the Lord's prayer, whether his precept to his disciples concerning it was, 'Pray this,' or 'Pray thus;' 'Pray these words,' or 'Pray after this manner?' Or though it had been less than either, and been only a directory for the matter, still it is a thing which our brethren, in all other cases of the same nature, are resolved perpetually to call a restraint. Certainly, then, this pretended restraint is no such formidable thing. These men themselves do it by directing all of the matter, and much of the manner, and Christ himself did it by prescribing both the matter and the words too.

123. Sixthly; These restraints, as they are called, or determinations of the Spirit, are made by the Spirit himself. For I demand, when any assembly of divines appoint the matter of prayers to all particular ministers, as this hath done, is that appointment by the Spirit or no? if no, then for aught appears, this Directory, not being made by God's Spirit, may be an enemy to it. But if this appointment be by the Spirit, then the determination and limitation of the Spirit is by the Spirit himself; and such indeed is every pious and prudent constitution of the Church, in matters spiritual. Such as was that of St. Paul to the Corinthians, when he prescribed

orders for public prophesying, and interpretation, and speaking with tongues. The spirit of some he so restrained, that he bound them to hold their peace; he permitted but two or three to speak at one meeting, the rest were to keep silence, though possibly six or seven might, at that time, have the Spirit.

124. Seventhly; Is it not a restraint of the spirit to sing a psalm in metre, by appointment? Clearly, as much as appointing forms of prayer, or eucharist; and yet that we see done daily, and no scruple made. Is not this to be partial in judgment, and inconsiderate of what we do?

125. Eighthly; And now, after all this strife, what harm is there in restraining the spirit in the present sense? What prohibition? what law? What reason or revelation is against it? what inconvenience in the nature of the thing? For, can any man be so weak as to imagine a despite is done to the Spirit of Grace, when the gifts given to his Church are used regularly, and by order? As if prudence was no gift of God's Spirit; as if helps in government, and the ordering spiritual matters, were none of those graces which Christ, when 'he ascended up on high,' gave unto men. But this whole matter is wholly a stranger to reason, and never seen in Scripture.

126. For, divinity never knew any other vicious restraining the Spirit, but either suppressing those holy incitements to virtue and good life, which God's Spirit ministers to us externally or internally, or else a forbidding by public authority the ministers of the word and sacraments to speak such truths as God hath commanded, and so taking away the liberty of prophesying. The first is directly vicious 'in materia speciali;' the second is tyrannical and antichristian: and to it persecution of true religion is to be reduced. But as for this pretended limiting or restraining the Spirit, viz. by appointing a regular form of prayer, it is so very a 'chimæra,' that it hath no footing or foundation upon any ground, where a wise man may build his confidence.

127. Ninthly; But lastly, how if the Spirit must be restrained, and that by precept apostolical? That calls us to a new account. But if it be not true, what means St. Paul by saying, "The spirits of the prophets must be subject to the *prophets*?" What greater restraint than subjection? If sub-

jected, then they must be ruled; if ruled, then limited; prescribed unto, and as much under restraint as the spirits of the superior prophets shall judge convenient. I suppose by this time, this objection will trouble us no more. But perhaps another will.

128. For, Why are not the ministers to be left as well to their liberty in making their prayers, as their sermons? I answer, the Church may if she will, but whether she doth well or no, let her consider. This I am sure, there is not the same reason, and I fear the experience the world hath already had of it, will make demonstration enough of the inconvenience. But, however, the differences are many.

129. First; Our prayers offered up by the minister, are in behalf, and in the name of the people; and, therefore, great reason they should know beforehand what is to be presented, that if they like not the message, they may refuse to communicate, especially since people are so divided in their opinions, in their hopes, and in their faiths; it being a duty to refuse communion with those prayers, which they think to have in them the matter of sin or doubting. Which reason, on the other part, ceases. For the minister being to speak from God to the people, if he speaks what he ought not, God can right himself, however, is not a partner of the sin,—as in the other case, the people possibly may be.

130. Secondly; It is more fit a liberty be left in preaching than praying, because the address of our discourses and exhortations is to be made according to the understanding and capacity of the audience; their prejudices are to be removed, all advantages to be taken, and they are to be surprised that way they lie most open; "But being crafty, I caught you," saith St. Paul to the Corinthians. And discourses and arguments 'ad hominem,' upon their particular principles and practices, may more move them than the most polite and accurate that do not comply and wind about their fancies and affections. St. Paul, from the absurd practice of being baptized for the dead, made an excellent argument to convince the Corinthians of the resurrection. But this reason also ceases in our prayers. For God understandeth what we say sure enough; he hath no prejudices to be removed, no infirmities to be wrought upon, and a fine

figure of rhetoric, a pleasant cadence, and a curious expression, move not him at all: no other twinings and compliances stir him, but charity, and humility, and zeal, and importunity, which all are things internal and spiritual. It was observed by Pliny, "Deos ipsos, non tam accuratis adorantium precibus, quàm innocentiâ, et sanctitate lætari: gratioremque existimari, qui delubris eorum puram castamque mentem, quàm qui meditatum carmen intulerit."[u] And, therefore, of necessity, there is to be great variety of discourses to the people, and permissions accordingly, but not so to God,—with whom a 'Deus miserere' prevails, as soon as the great office of forty hours, not long since invented in the Church of Rome, or any other prayers spun out to a length beyond the extension of the office of a pharisee.

131. Thirdly; I fear it cannot stand with our reverence to God, to permit to every spirit a liberty of public address to him, in behalf of the people. Indeed, he that is not fit to pray, is not always fit to preach; but it is more safe to be bold with the people than with God, if the persons be not so fit. In that there may be indiscretion, but there may be impiety and irreligion in this. The people may better excuse and pardon an indiscretion, or a rudeness, if any such should happen, than we may venture to offer it to God.

132. Fourthly; There is a latitude of theology, much whereof is left to us, without precise and clear determination; so that without breach either of faith or charity, men may differ in opinion: and if they may not be permitted to abound in their own sense, they will be apt to complain of tyranny over consciences, and that men lord it over their faith. In prayer this thing is so different, that it is imprudent, and full of inconvenience, to derive such things into our prayers, which may with good profit be matter of sermons. Therefore, here a liberty may well enough be granted, when there it may better be denied.

133. Fifthly; But indeed, if I may freely declare my opinion, I think it were not amiss, if the liberty of making sermons were something more restrained than it is, and that either such persons only were intrusted with the liberty, for whom the Church herself may safely be responsive, that is,

[u] Panegyr. ii. 5. Gierig.

to men learned and pious, and that the other part the 'vulgus cleri' should instruct the people out of the fountains of the Church, and the public stock, till by so long exercise and discipline in the schools of the prophets, they may also be intrusted to minister of their own unto the people. This, I am sure, was the practice of the Primitive Church; when preaching was as ably and religiously performed as now it is; but in this, I prescribe nothing. But truly I think the reverend divines of the assembly are many of them of my mind in this particular, and that they observe a liberty indulged to some persons to preach, which, I think, they had rather should hold their peace, and yet think the Church better edified in their silence than their sermons.

134. Sixthly; But yet methinks the argument objected so far as the extempore men make use of it, if it were turned with the edge the other way, would have more reason in it: and instead of arguing, 'Why should not the same liberty be allowed to their spirit in praying as in preaching?' it were better to substitute this: 'If they can pray with the Spirit, why do they not also preach with the Spirit?' And, it may be, there may be in reason, or experience, something more for preaching and making orations by the excellence of a man's spirit and learning, than for the other, which, in the greatest abilities, it may be unfit to venture to God, without public approbation: but for sermons, they may be fortunate and safe, if made extempore. "Si calor ac spiritus tulit, frequenter accidit, ut successum extemporalem consequi cura non possit; Deum tunc adfuisse, cum id evenisset, veteres oratores, 'ut Cicero ait,' dictitabant."[x] Now let them make demonstration of their spirit, by making excellent sermons extempore: that it may become an experiment of their other faculty, that after they are tried and approved in this, they may be considered for the other: and if praying with the Spirit be praying extempore, why shall not they preach extempore too, or else confess they preach without the Spirit, or that they have not the gift of preaching? For to say that the gift of prayer is a gift extempore, but the gift of preaching is with study and deliberation, is to become vain and impertinent. 'Quis enim discrevit?' 'Who hath made them of

[x] Quintil. x. 7. 14.

a different consideration?' I mean as to this particular, as to their efficient cause? nor reason, nor revelation, nor God, nor man.

135. To sum up all. If any man hath a mind to exercise his gift of prayer, let him set himself to work, and compose books of devotion (we have need of them in the Church of England, so apparent need, that some of the Church of Rome have made it an objection against us): and this his gift of prayer will be to edification. But, otherwise, I understand it is more fit for ostentation, than any spiritual advantage. For God hears us not the sooner for our extempore, long, or conceived prayers: possibly they may become a hinderance, as in the cases before instanced. And I am sure, if the people be intelligent, and can discern, they are hindered in their devotion; for they dare not say 'Amen,' till they have considered; and many such cases will occur in extempore, or unlicensed prayers, that need much considering, before we attest them. But if the people be not intelligent, they are apt to swallow all the inconveniences which may multiply in so great a license: and, therefore, it were well that the governors of the Church, who are to answer for their souls, should judge for them, before they say 'Amen;' which judgment cannot be without set forms of liturgy. My sentence therefore is, ἵνα μένωμεν ὥσπερ ἐσμὲν,—"let us be as we are already;" few changes are for the better.

136. For if it be pretended, that in the liturgy of the Church of England,—which was composed with much art and judgment, by a church that hath as much reason to be confident she hath the spirit and gift of prayer as any single person hath; and each learned man, that was at its first composition, can as much prove that he had the Spirit, as the objectors nowadays (and he that boasts most, certainly hath the least): If, I say, it be pretended, that there are many errors and inconveniences, both in the order and in the matter of the Common Prayer-book, made by such men, with so much industry: how much more, and with how much greater reason, may we all dread the inconveniences and disorders of extempore and conceived prayers? Where respectively there is neither conjunction of heads, nor premeditation, nor industry, nor method, nor art, nor any of those things, or at *least, not* in the same degree, which were likely to have

exempted the Common Prayer-book from errors and disorders. 'If these things be done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?'

137. But if it be said, the extempore and conceived prayers will be secured from error by the Directory, because that chalks them out the matter; I answer, it is not sufficient, because, if when men study both the matter and the words too, they may be, and, it is pretended, are actually deceived—much more may they, when the matter is left much more at liberty, and the words under no restraint at all. And no man can avoid the pressure and weight of this, unless the compilers of the Directory were infallible, and that all their followers are so too, of the certainty of which I am not yet fully satisfied.

138. And after this I would fain know, what benefit and advantages the Church of England, in her united capacity, receives by this new device? For the public, it is clear, that whether the ministers pray before they study, or study before they pray, there must needs be infinite deformity in the public worship, and all the benefits which before were the consequents of conformity and unity, will be lost; and if they be not valuable, I leave it to all them to consider, who know the inconveniences of public disunion, and the public disunion that is certainly consequent to them who do not communicate in any common forms of worship; and to think that the Directory will bring conformity, is as if one should say, that all who are under the same atmosphere are joined 'in communi patriâ,' and will love like countrymen. For, under the Directory, there will be as different religions, and as different desires, and as differing forms, as there are several varieties of men and manners under the one half of heaven, who yet breathe under the same half of the globe.

139. But ask again, what benefit can the public receive by this form, or this no form? For I know not whether to call it. Shall the matter of prayers be better in all churches? shall God be better served? shall the word of God, and the best patterns of prayers, be always exactly followed? It is well if it be. But there is no security given us by the Directory; for the particulars, and special instances of the matter, are left at every man's dispose for all that, and we must depend upon the honesty of every particular for it: and if any man

proves an heretic, or a knave, then he may introduce what impiety he please into the public forms of God's worship: and there is no law made to prevent it, and it must be cured afterward, if it can, but before hand it is not prevented at all by the Directory, which trusts every man.

140. But I observe that all the benefit which is pretended, is, that it will make an able ministry. "Maximus verò studiorum fructus est, et velut præmium quoddam amplissimum longi laboris, *extempore dicendi facultas*," said an excellent person.[y] And it is very true; to be able to speak excellent things, without long considering, is an effect of a long industry, and greatest learning; but certainly is the greatest enemy in the world to its production: much learning, and long use of speaking, may enable a man to speak upon sudden occasions, but speaking without consideration will never make much learning. "Nec quisquam tantum fidat ingenio, ut id sibi speret incipienti statim posse contingere, sed, sicut in cogitatione præcipimus, ita facilitatem extemporalem à parvis initiis paulatim perducemus ad summum."[z] And to offer that, as a means of getting learning, which cannot be done at all as it ought, but after learning is already gotten in a very great degree, is highest mistaking. I confess I am very much from believing the allegation, and so will every man be, that considers what kind of men they are that have been most zealous for that way of conceived prayer: I am sure that very few of the learnedest, very many ignorants, most those who have made least abode in the schools of the prophets. And that I may disgrace no man's person, we see tradesmen of the most illiberal arts, and women, pretend to it, and do it with as many words (and that is the main thing), with as much confidence, and speciousness of spirit, as the best among them.[a] "Nec fortuiti sermonis contextum mirabor unquam, quem jurgantibus etiam mulierculis superfluere video;" said Quintilian.[b] And it is but a small portion of learning that will serve a man to make conceived forms of

[y] Quintil. x. 7.

[z] Idem, Spalding, x. 7. 18.

[a] Κόμιζε τοίνυν τὸ μίγιστον μὲν τὴν ἀμαθίαν, εἶτα δρᾶσος ἐπὶ τούτοις· καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τόλμαν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν. εἶδῶ δὲ, ἢ ἐπιείκειαν, ἢ μετριότητα, ἢ ἰξύθημα, οἶκοι ἀπόλωτι, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ βοὴν ὅτι μιγίστην, κ. τ. λ. Lucian. Rhet. Præc. 15. Bipont. vol. vii. p. 234.

[b] x. 7. 13.

prayer, which they may have easily upon the stock of other men, or upon their own fancy, or upon any thing in which no learning is required. He that knows not this, knows nothing of the craft that may be in the preacher's trade. But what? Is God better served? I would fain see any authority, or any reason, or any probability for that. I am sure, ignorant men offer him none of the best sacrifices extempore; and learned men will be sure to deliberate and know, God is then better served when he is served by a public, than when by a private spirit. I cannot imagine what accruements will hence come to the public: it may be some advantages may be to the private interests of men. For there are a sort of men, whom our blessed Saviour noted, "Who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers."—They 'make prayers,' and they 'make them long;' by this means they receive double advantages, for they get reputation to their ability and to their piety. And although the Common Prayer-book, in the preface to the Directory, be charged with unnecessary length, yet we see that most of these men, they that are most eminent, or would be thought so, make their prayers longer, and will not lose the benefits which their credit gets, and they, by their credit, for making their prayers.

141. Add this, that there is no promise in Scripture, that he who prays extempore shall be heard the better, or that he shall be assisted at all to such purposes; and, therefore, to innovate in so high a matter, without a warrant to command us, or a promise to warrant us, is no better than vanity in the thing, and presumption in the person. He, therefore, that considers that this way of prayer is without all manner of precedent in the Primitive Church, against the example of all famous churches in all Christendom, in the whole descent of fifteen ages, without all command or warrant of Scripture; that it is unreasonable in the nature of the thing, against prudence and the best wisdom of humanity, because it is without deliberation; that it is innovation in a high degree, without that authority which is truly, and by inherent and ancient right, to command and prescribe to us in external forms of worship; that it is much to the disgrace of the first reformers of our religion; that it gives encouragement to the Church of Rome to quarrel, with some reason, and more

pretence against our reformation, as being by the Directory confessed to have been done in much blindness, and, therefore, might err in the excess as well as in the defect, throwing out too much, as casting off too little (which is the more likely, because they wanted no zeal to carry them far enough): he that considers the universal deformity of public worship, and the no means of union, no symbol of public communion being publicly consigned; that all heresies may, with the same authority, be brought into our prayers, and offered to God in the behalf of the people, with the same authority that any truth may, all the particular matters of our prayers being left to the choice of all men of all persuasions,—and then observes, that actually there are in many places heresy, and blasphemy, and impertinence, and illiterate rudenesses put into the devotion of the most solemn days, and the most public meetings; and then, lastly, that there are divers parts of liturgy for which no provision at all is made in the Directory; and the very administration of the sacraments left so loosely, that if there be any thing essential in the forms of sacraments, the sacrament may become ineffectual for want of due words, and due administration;—I say, he that considers all these things (and many more he may consider) will find that particular men are not fit to be intrusted to offer in public with their private spirit to God, for the people, in such solemnities, in matters of so great a concernment, where the honour of God,—the benefit of the people,—the interest of kingdoms,—the being of a church,—the unity of minds,—the conformity of practice,—the truth of persuasion,—and the salvation of souls,—are so much concerned as they are in the public prayers of a whole national Church. An unlearned man is not to be trusted, and a wise man dare not trust himself; he that is ignorant cannot, he that is knowing will not.

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ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΗ,

OR,

A DISCOURSE

OF

THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING,

WITH

ITS JUST LIMITS AND TEMPER:

SHEWING

THE UNREASONABLENESS OF PRESCRIBING TO OTHER MEN'S FAITH, AND THE INIQUITY OF PERSECUTING DIFFERING OPINIONS.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHRISTOPHER LORD HATTON,

BARON HATTON OF KIRBY, COMPTROLLER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

In this great storm, which hath dashed the vessel of the Church all in pieces, I have been cast upon the coast of Wales, and, in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness, which, in England, in a greater, I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor: and here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy: Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν· ἀναψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν, προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψύχος. And now since I have

come ashore, I have been gathering a few sticks to warm me, a few books to entertain my thoughts, and divert them from the perpetual meditation of my private troubles and the public dyscrasy: but those which I could obtain were so few, and so impertinent, and unuseful to any great purposes, that I began to be sad upon a new stock, and full of apprehension that I should live unprofitably, and die obscurely, and be forgotten, and my bones thrown into some common charnel-house, without any name or note to distinguish me from those who only served their generation, by filling the number of citizens, and who could pretend to no thanks or reward from the public, beyond "jus trium liberorum." While I was troubled with these thoughts, and busy to find an opportunity of doing some good, in my small proportion, still the cares of the public did so intervene, that it was as impossible to separate my design from relating to the present, as to exempt myself from the participation of the common calamity; still, half my thoughts was, in despite of all my diversions and arts of avocations, fixed upon, and mingled with, the present concernments; so that besides them I could not go. Now, because the great question is concerning religion, and in that also my scene lies, I resolved here to fix my considerations; especially when I observed the ways of promoting the several opinions, which now are busy, to be such, as besides that they were most troublesome to me, and such as I could, by no means, be friends withal, they were also such as, to *my* understanding, did the most apparently disserve

their ends, whose design in advancing their own opinions was pretended for religion. For, as contrary as cruelty is to mercy, as tyranny to charity, so is war and bloodshed to the meekness and gentleness of Christian religion. And however that there are some exterminating spirits, who think God to delight in human sacrifices, as if that oracle — Καὶ κεφαλὰς ᾄδη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πίμπετε φῶτα had come from the Father of spirits: yet if they were capable of cool and tame homilies, or would hear men of other opinions give a quiet account, without invincible resolutions never to alter their persuasions, I am very much persuaded it would not be very hard to dispute such men into mercies, and compliances, and tolerations mutual, such, I say, who are zealous for Jesus Christ, than whose doctrine never was any thing more merciful and humane, whose lessons were softer than nard, or the juice of the Candian olive. Upon the first apprehension, I designed a discourse to this purpose, with as much greediness as if I had thought it possible, with my arguments, to have persuaded the rough and hard-handed soldiers to have disbanded presently: for I had often thought of the prophecy that, in the Gospel, "our swords should be turned into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks;" I knew that no tittle spoken by God's Spirit could return unperformed and ineffectual; and I was certain that such was the excellence of Christ's doctrine, that if men could obey it, Christians should never war one against another: in the mean time, I considered not that it was 'prædictio consilii, non eventûs,' till I

saw what men were now doing, and ever had done, since the heats and primitive fervours did cool, and the love of interests swelled higher than the love of Christianity: but then, on the other side, I began to fear, that whatever I could say would be as ineffectual as it could be reasonable. For if those excellent words which our blessed Master spake, could not charm the tumult of our spirits, I had little reason to hope that one of the meanest and most ignorant of his servants could advance the end of that which he calls his great, and his old, and his new commandment, so well as the excellence of his own Spirit and discourses could. And yet, since he who knew every event of things, and the success and efficacy of every doctrine, and that very much of it to most men, and all of it to some men, would be ineffectual, yet was pleased to consign our duty, that it might be a direction to them that would, and a conviction and a testimony against them that would not, obey; I thought it might not misbecome my duty and endeavours to plead for peace and charity, and forgiveness and permissions mutual: although I had reason to believe, that such is the iniquity of men, and they so indisposed to receive such impresses, that I had as good plough the sands, or till the air, as persuade such doctrines, which destroy men's interests, and serve no end but the great end of a happy eternity, and what is in order to it. But because the events of things are in God's disposition, and I knew them not,—and because if I had known, my good purposes would be totally *ineffectual* as to others, yet my own designation and

purposes would be of advantage to myself, who might, from God's mercy, expect the retribution which he is pleased to promise to all pious intendments; I resolved to encounter with all objections, and to do something to which I should be determined by the consideration of the present distemperatures and necessities, by my own thoughts, by the questions and scruples, the sects and names, the interests and animosities, which at this day, and for some years past, have exercised and disquieted Christendom.

Thus far I discoursed myself into employment, and having come thus far, I knew not how to get further; for I had heard of a great experience, how difficult it was to make brick without straw: and here I had even seen my design blasted in the bud, and I despaired, in the calends, of doing what I purposed in the ides before. For I had no books of my own here, nor any in the voisinage; and but that I remembered the result of some of those excellent discourses I had heard your Lordship make, when I was so happy as, in private, to gather up what your temperance and modesty forbids to be public, I had come 'in prælia inermis,' and, like enough, might have fared accordingly. I had this only advantage besides, that I have chosen a subject, in which, if my own reason does not abuse me, I needed no other books or aids than what a man carries with him on horseback, I mean, the common principles of Christianity, and those ἀξιώματα, which men use in the transactions of the ordinary occurrences of civil society: and upon the strength of

them, and some other collateral assistances, I have run through it 'utcunque;' and the sum of the following discourses is nothing but the sense of these words of Scripture, that since "we know in part, and prophesy in part, and that now we see through a glass darkly,"[a] we should not despise or contemn persons not so knowing as ourselves, but "him that is weak in the faith, we should receive, but not to doubtful disputations;"[b] therefore, certainly to charity, and not to vexations, not to those which are the idle effects of impertinent wranglings. And provided they keep close to the foundation, which is faith and obedience, let them build upon this foundation matter more or less precious, yet if the foundation be entire, they shall be saved with or without loss. And since we profess ourselves servants of so meek a Master, and disciples of so charitable an institute, "Let us walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love;"[c] for this is the best endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, when it is fast tied in the bond of peace. And although it be a duty of Christianity, that "we all speak the same thing, that there be no divisions among us, but that we be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment;"[d] yet this unity is to be estimated according to the unity of faith, in things necessary, in matters of creed, and articles funda-

[a] 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12.
[b] Rom. xiv. 1.
[c] Ephes. iv. 2, 3.
[d] 1 Cor. i. 10.

mental: for as for other things, it is more to be wished than to be hoped for. There are some "doubtful disputations,"[e] and in such 'the scribe, the wise, the disputer of this world,' are, most commonly, very far from certainty, and many times, from truth. There are diversity of persuasions in matters adiaphorous, as meats, and drinks, and holy days, &c. and both parties, the affirmative and the negative, affirm and deny with innocence enough; for the observer, and he that observes not, intend both to God; and God is our common Master, we are all fellow-servants, and not the judge of each other in matters of conscience or doubtful disputation; and every man that 'hath faith, must have it to himself before God,' but no man must, in such matters, either 'judge his brother or set him at nought:' but 'let us follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.' And the way to do that is not by knowledge, but by charity; for "knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth."[f] And since there is not in "every man the same knowledge, but the consciences of some are weak;"[g] as "my liberty must not be judged of another man's weak conscience,"[h] so must not I please myself so much in my right opinion, but I must also take order that his 'weak conscience be not offended or despised:' for no man must 'seek his own, but every man another's wealth.'[i] And although we must contend earnestly

[e] Rom. xiv. 1. [f] 1 Cor. viii. 1. [g] Ver. 7.
[h] 1 Cor. x. 29. [i] Ibid. ver. 33.

for the faith,' yet, 'above all things, we must put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness.' And, therefore, this contention must be with arms fit for the Christian warfare, "the sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith, and preparation of the Gospel of peace, instead of shoes, and a helmet of salvation."[k] But not with other arms; for a churchman must not be πληκτικὸς,—'a striker;' for "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual," and the persons that use them ought to be 'gentle and easy to be entreated;' and we 'must give an account of our faith to them that ask us, with meekness and humility, for so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.' These, and thousands more to the same purpose, are the doctrines of Christianity, whose sense and intendment I have prosecuted in the following discourse, being very much displeased that so many opinions and new doctrines are commenced among us; but more troubled, that every man that hath an opinion thinks his own and other men's salvation is concerned in its maintenance; but, most of all, that men should be persecuted and afflicted for disagreeing in such opinions, which they cannot, with sufficient grounds, obtrude upon others necessarily, because they cannot propound them infallibly, and because they have no warrant from Scripture so to do. For if I shall tie other men to believe my opinion, because I think I have a place of Scripture, which seems to warrant it to my understanding,

[k] Colos. iii. 14.

why may not he serve up another dish to me in the same dress, and exact the same task of me to believe the contradictory? And then, since all the heretics in the world have offered to prove their articles by the same means, by which true believers propound theirs, it is necessary that some separation, either of doctrine or of persons, be clearly made, and that all pretences may not be admitted, nor any just allegations be rejected; and yet, that in some other questions, whether they be truly or falsely pretended, if not evidently or demonstratively, there may be considerations had to the persons of men, and to the laws of charity, more than to the triumphing in any opinion or doctrine not simply necessary. Now, because some doctrines are clearly not necessary, and some are absolutely necessary, why may not the first separation be made upon this difference, and articles necessary be only urged as necessary, and the rest left to men indifferently, as they were by the Scripture indeterminately? And it were well if men would as much consider themselves as the doctrines, and think that they may as well be deceived by their own weakness, as persuaded by the arguments of a doctrine, which other men, as wise, call inevident. For it is a hard case that we should think all papists, and anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to be fools and wicked persons; certainly, among all these sects, there are very many wise men and good men, as well as erring. And although some zeals are so hot, and their eyes so inflamed with their ardours, that they do not think their adversaries look like other men; yet certainly

we find by the results of their discourses, and the transactions of their affairs of civil society, that they are men that speak and make syllogisms, and use reason, and read Scripture: and although they do no more understand all of it than we do, yet they endeavour to understand as much as concerns them, even all that they can, even all that concerns repentance from dead works, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And, therefore, methinks this also should be another consideration distinguishing the persons: for, if the persons be Christians in their lives, and Christians in their profession, if they acknowledge the eternal Son of God for their Master and their Lord, and live in all relations as becomes persons making such professions, why then should I hate such persons whom God loves, and who love God, who are partakers of Christ, and Christ hath a title to them, who dwell in Christ, and Christ in them, because their understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same masters, they have not met with the same books, nor the same company, or have not the same interest, or are not so wise, or else are wiser; that is, for some reason or other, which I neither do understand nor ought to blame,—have not the same opinions that I have, and do not determine their school-questions to the sense of my sect or interest?

But now, I know beforehand, that those men who will endure none but their own sect, will make all manner of attempts against these purposes of charity and compliance, and, say I or do I what I can, *will* tell all their proselytes that I preach indifference

of religion; that I say it is no matter how we believe, nor what they profess, but that they may comply with all sects, and do violence to their own consciences; that they may be saved in all religions, and so make way for a 'colluvies' of heresies, and, by consequence, destroy all religion. Nay, they will say worse than all this; and, but that I am not used to their phrases and forms of declamation, I am persuaded I might represent fine tragedies beforehand. And this will be such an objection, that although I am most confident I shall make it apparent to be as false and scandalous as the objectors themselves are zealous and impatient; yet, besides that I believe the objection will come where my answers will not come, or not be understood, I am also confident, that, in defiance and incuriousness of all that I shall say, some men will persist pertinaciously in the accusation, and deny my conclusion in despite of me. Well, but however, I will try.

And, first, I answer, that whatsover is against the foundation of faith, or contrary to good life and the laws of obedience, or destructive to human society, and the public and just interests of bodies politic, is out of the limits of my question, and does not pretend to compliance or toleration: so that I allow no indifference, nor any countenance to those religions whose principles destroy government, nor to those religions (if there be any such) that teach ill life; nor do I think that any thing will now excuse from belief of a fundamental article, except stupidity or sottishness, and natural inability. This

alone is sufficient answer to this vanity; but I have much more to say.

Secondly: the intendment of my discourse is, that permissions should be in questions speculative, indeterminable, curious, and unnecessary; and that men would not make more necessities than God made, which indeed are not many. The fault I find, and seek to remedy, is, that men are so dogmatical and resolute in their opinions, and impatient of others disagreeing, in those things wherein is no sufficient means of union and determination; but that men should let opinions and problems keep their own forms, and not be obtruded as axioms, nor questions in the vast collection of the system of divinity be adopted into the family of faith. And, I think, I have reason to desire this.

Thirdly: it is hard to say that he who would not have men put to death, or punished corporally, for such things for which no human authority is sufficient, either for cognizance or determination, or competent for infliction, that he persuades to an indifference, when he refers to another judicatory, which is competent, sufficient, infallible, just, and highly severe. No man, or company of men, can judge or punish our thoughts or secret purposes, whilst they so remain. And yet it will be unequal to say, that he, who owns this doctrine, preaches it lawful for men to think or purpose what they will. And so it is in matters of doubtful disputation, such as are the distinguishing articles of most of the sects of Christendom; so it is in matters intellectual, *which* are not cognizable by a secular power; in

matters spiritual, which are to be discerned by spiritual authority, which cannot make corporal inflictions; and in questions indeterminate, which are doubtfully propounded, or obscurely, and, therefore, may be, 'in utramque partem,' disputed or believed. For God alone must be Judge of these matters, who alone is Master of our souls, and hath a dominion over human understanding; and he that says this, does not say that indifference is persuaded, because God alone is Judge of erring persons.

Fourthly: no part of this discourse teaches or encourages variety of sects, and contradiction in opinions, but supposes them already in being: and, therefore, since there are, and ever were, and ever will be, variety of opinions, because there is variety of human understandings, and uncertainty in things, no man should be too forward in determining all questions, nor so forward in prescribing to others, nor invade that liberty which God hath left to us entire, by propounding many things obscurely, and by exempting our souls and understandings from all power externally compulsory. So that the restraint is laid upon men's tyranny, but no license given to men's opinions; they are not considered in any of the conclusions, but in the premises only, as an argument to exhort to charity. So that if I persuade a license of discrediting any thing which God hath commanded us to believe, and allow a liberty where God hath not allowed it, let it be shewn, and let the objection press as hard as it can: but to say that men are too forward in condemning, where

God hath declared no sentence, nor prescribed any rule, is to dissuade from tyranny, not to encourage licentiousness; is to take away a license of judging, not to give a license of dogmatizing what every one please, or as may best serve his turn. And for the other part of the objection;

Fifthly: this discourse is so far from giving leave to men to profess any thing, though they believe the contrary, that it takes order that no man shall be put to it: for I earnestly contend that another man's opinion shall be no rule to mine, and that my opinion shall be no snare and prejudice to myself; that men use one another so charitably and so gently, that no error or violence tempt men to hypocrisy; this very thing being one of the arguments I use to persuade permissions, lest compulsion introduce hypocrisy, and make sincerity troublesome and unsafe.

Sixthly: if men would not call all opinions by the name of religion, and superstructures by the name of fundamental articles, and all fancies by the glorious appellative of faith, this objection would have no pretence or footing: so that it is the disease of the men, not any cause that is ministered by such precepts of charity, that makes them perpetually clamorous. And it would be hard to say that such physicians are incurious of their patients, and neglectful of their health, who speak against the unreasonableness of such empirics, that would cut off a man's head, if they see but a wart upon his cheek, or a dimple upon his chin, or any lines in his face to distinguish him from another man: the case is

altogether the same, and we may as well decree a wart to be mortal, as a various opinion, 'in re alioquí non necessariâ,' to be capital and damnable.

For I consider that there are but few doctrines of Christianity that were ordered to be preached to all the world, to every single person, and made a necessary article of his explicit belief. Other doctrines, which are all of them not simply necessary, are either such as are not clearly revealed, or such as are. If they be clearly revealed, and that I know so too, or may, but for my own fault,—I am not to be excused: but for this I am to be left to God's judgment, unless my fault be externally such as to be cognizable and punishable in human judicatory. But, then, if it be not so revealed, but that wise men and good men differ in their opinions, it is a clear case it is not 'inter dogmata necessaria simpliciter;' and then it is certain I may, therefore, safely disbelieve it, because I may be safely ignorant of it. For if I may, with innocence, be ignorant, then to know it, or believe it, is not simply obligatory: ignorance is absolutely inconsistent with such an obligation, because it is destructive and a plain negative to its performance; and if I do my honest endeavour to understand it, and yet do not attain it, it is certain that it is not obligatory to me so much as by accident; for no obligation can press the person of a man, if it be impossible; no man is bound to do more than his best, no man is bound to have an excellent understanding, or to be infallible, or to be wiser than he can; for these are things that are not in his *choice*, and therefore not a matter of law,

nor subject to reward and punishment. So that where ignorance of the article is not a sin, there, disbelieving it in the right sense, or believing it in the wrong, is not a breach of any duty essentially or accidentally necessary, either in the thing itself, or to the person; that is, he is neither bound to the article, nor to any endeavours or antecedent acts of volition and choice; and that man who may safely be ignorant of the proposition, is not tied at all to search it out; and if not at all to search it, then certainly not to find it. All the obligation we are capable of is not to be malicious or voluntarily criminal in any kind: and then, if by accident we find out a truth, we are obliged to believe it; and so will every wise or good man do; indeed he cannot do otherwise. But if he disbelieves an article, without malice or design, or involuntarily or unknowingly, it is a contradiction to say it is a sin to him who might totally have been ignorant of it: for, that he believes it in the wrong sense, it is his ignorance; and it is impossible that where he hath heartily endeavoured to find out a truth, that his endeavour should make him guilty of a sin, which would never have been laid to his charge, if he had taken no pains at all. His ignorance, in this case, is not a fault at all; possibly it might, if there had been no endeavour to have cured it.

So that there is wholly a mistake in this proposition. For true it is, there are some propositions, which if a man never hear of, they will not be required of him; and they who cannot read, might *safely* be ignorant that Melchisedec was king of

Salem; but he who reads it in the Scripture, may not safely contradict it, although, before that knowledge did arrive to him, he might safely have been ignorant of it. But this, although it be true, is not pertinent to our question: for, 'in sensu diviso,' this is true, that which, at one time, a man may be ignorant of, at some other time he may not disbelieve; but, 'in sensu conjuncto,' it is false; for, at what, and in what circumstance soever, it is no sin to be ignorant,—at that time, and in that conjuncture, it is no sin to disbelieve. And such is the nature of all questions disputable, which are, therefore, not required of us to be believed, in any one particular sense, because the nature of the thing is such as not to be necessary to be known at all, simply and absolutely; and such is the ambiguity and cloud of its face and representment, as not to be necessary, so much as by accident, and, therefore, not to the particular sense of any one person.

And yet, such is the iniquity of men, that they suck in opinions as wild asses do the wind, without distinguishing the wholesome from the corrupted air, and then live upon it at a venture; and when all their confidence is built upon zeal and mistake, yet, therefore, because they are zealous and mistaken, they are impatient of contradiction.

But, besides that against this I have laid prejudice enough, from the dictates of Holy Scripture, it is observable that this with its appendant degrees, I mean restraint of prophesying, imposing upon other men's understanding, being masters of their consciences, and lording it over their faith, came in

with the retinue and train of Antichrist; that is, they came as other abuses and corruptions of the Church did, by reason of the iniquity of times, and the cooling of the first heats of Christianity, and the increase of interest, and the abatements of Christian simplicity, when the Church's fortune grew better, and her sons grew worse, and some of her fathers worst of all. For, in the first three hundred years, there was no sign of persecuting any man for his opinion, though, at that time, there were very horrid opinions commenced, and such which were exemplary and parallel enough to determine this question; for they then were assaulted by new sects, which destroyed the common principles of nature, of Christianity, of innocence, and public society; and they who used all the means, Christian and spiritual, for their disimprovement and conviction, thought not of using corporal force, otherwise than by blaming such proceedings. And, therefore, I do not only urge their not doing it, as an argument of the unlawfulness of such proceeding, but their defying it, and speaking against such practices, as unreasonable, and destructive of Christianity. For so Tertullian[1] is express: "Humani juris et naturalis potestatis, unicuique quod putaverit, colere; sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ suscipi debet sponte, non vi." The same is the doctrine of St. Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Hilary, Minutius Felix, Sulpitius Severus, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Austin, Damascen, Theophylact, Socrates Scho-

[1] Ad Scapul.

lasticus, and St. Bernard, as they are severally referred to and urged, upon occasion, in the following discourse.

To which I add, that all wise princes, till they were overborne with faction, or solicited by peevish persons, gave toleration to differing sects, whose opinions did not disturb the public interest. But, at first, there were some heretical persons that were also impatient of an adversary, and they were the men, who at first entreated the emperors to persecute the Catholics: but till four hundred years after Christ, no catholic persons, or very few, did provoke the secular arm, or implore its aid against the heretics, save only that Arius behaved himself so seditiously and tumultuarily, that the Nicene fathers procured a temporary decree for his relegation, but it was soon taken off, and God left to be his judge; who indeed did it to some purpose, when he was trusted with it, and the matter wholly left to him.

But as the ages grew worse, so men grew more cruel and unchristian: and in the Greek Church, Atticus, and Nestorius of Constantinople, Theodosius of Synada, and some few others, who had forgotten the mercies of their great Master, and their own duty, grew implacable, and furious, and impatient of contradiction. It was a bold and an arrogant speech, which Nestorius made in a sermon before Theodosius the Younger, "Da mihi, O imperator, terram ab hæreticis repurgatam, et ego tibi vicissim cœlum dabo: Disperde mecum hæreticos, et ego tecum disperdam Persas." — It was as

groundless and unwarrantable, as it was bloody and inhuman.

And we see the contrary events prove truer than this groundless and unlearned promise: for Theodosius and Valentinian were prosperous princes, and have, to all ages, a precious memory, and the reputation of a great piety; but they were so far from doing what Nestorius had suggested, that they restrained him from his violence and immanity; and Theodosius did highly commend the good bishop Proclus, for his sweetness of deportment towards erring persons, far above the cruelty of his predecessor Atticus. And the experience which Christendom hath had in this last age, is argument enough, that toleration of different opinions is so far from disturbing the public peace, or destroying the interest of princes and commonwealths, that it does advantage to the public, it secures peace, because there is not so much as the pretence of religion left to such persons to contend for it, being already indulged to them. When France fought against the Huguenots, the spilling of her own blood was argument enough of the imprudence of that way of promoting religion; but since she hath given permission to them, the world is witness how prosperous she hath been ever since. But the great instance is in the differing temper, government, and success, which Margaret of Parma and the Duke of Alva had. The clemency of the first had almost extinguished the flame: but when she was removed, D'Alva succeeded, and managed the matter of religion with fire and sword; he made the flame so

great, that his religion and his prince too have both been almost quite turned out of the country. "Tolli è medio sapientiam, quoties vi geritur res," said Ennius: and therefore the best of men, and the most glorious of princes, were always ready to give toleration, but never to make executions for matters disputable. Eusebius, in his second book of the Life of Constantine, reports these words of the emperor, "Parem cum fidelibus, ii qui errant, pacis et quietis fruitionem gaudentes accipiant: ipsa siquidem communicationis et societatis restitutio ad rectam etiam veritatis viam perducere potest. Nemo cuiquam molestus sit; quisque quod animo destinat, hoc etiam faciat."

And, indeed, there is great reason for princes to give toleration to disagreeing persons, whose opinions, by fair means, cannot be altered. For if the persons be confident, they will serve God according to their persuasions; and if they be publicly prohibited, they will privately convene: and then all these inconveniencies and mischiefs, which are arguments against the permission of conventicles, are arguments for the public permissions of differing religions, because the denying of the public worship will certainly produce private conventicles, against which all wise princes and commonwealths have, upon great reasons, made edicts and severe sanctions. "Quicquid enim agitur, absente rege, in caput ejus plerumque redundat," say the politics. For the face of a king is as the face of a lion, and scatters all base machinations, which breathe not but in the dark. It is a proverbial saying, 'Quòd nimia familiaritas servorum est conspiratio adversùs Domi-

num:' and they who, for their security, run into grots, and cellars, and retirements, think that, they being upon the defensive, those princes and those laws that drive them to it, are their enemies, and, therefore, they cannot be secure, unless the power of one, and the obligation of the other, be lessened and rescinded; and then, the being restrained and made miserable, endears the discontented persons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations. King James, of blessed memory, in his letters to the States of the United Provinces, dated 6th March, 1613, thus wrote,—" Magis autem è re fore, si sopiantur autoritate publicâ, ità ut prohibeatis ministros vestros, nè eas disputationes in suggestum aut ad plebem ferant; ac districtè imperetis ut pacem colant, se invicem tolerando in ista opinionum ac sententiarum discrepantia.—Eòque justiùs videmur vobis hoc ipsum suadere debere, quòd neutram comperimus adeò deviam, ut non possit, et cum fidei Christianæ veritate, et cum animarum salute, consistere," &c. The like counsel, in the divisions of Germany, at the first reformation, was thought reasonable by the Emperor Ferdinand, and his excellent son Maximilian. For they had observed, that violence did exasperate, was unblessed, unsuccessful, and unreasonable; and, therefore, they made decrees of toleration, and appointed tempers and expedients to be drawn up by discreet persons; and George Cassander was designed to this great work, and did something towards it. And Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, *repenting* of his war, undertaken for religion, against

the Pedemontans, promised them toleration, and was as good as his word. As much is done by the nobility of Polonia. So that the best princes and the best bishops gave toleration and impunities: but it is known, that the first persecutions of disagreeing persons were, by the Arians, by the Circumcellians, and Donatists; and from them they of the Church took examples, who, in small numbers, did sometimes persuade it, sometimes practise it. And among the Greeks, it became a public and authorized practice, till the question of images grew hot and high: for then the worshippers of images, having taken their example from the Empress Irene, who put her son's eyes out for making an edict against images, began to be as cruel as they were deceived; especially being encouraged by the popes of Rome, who then blew the coals to some purpose.

And that I may, upon this occasion, give account of this affair in the Church of Rome, it is remarkable, that, till the time of Justinian the emperor, A. D. 525, the catholics and Novatians had churches, indifferently permitted, even in Rome itself; but the bishops of Rome, whose interest was much concerned in it, spoke much against it, and laboured the eradication of the Novatians, and at last, when they got power into their hands, they served them accordingly: but it is observed by Socrates, that when the first persecution was made against them at Rome, by Pope Innocent I. at the same instant the Goths invaded Italy, and became lords of all; it being just in God to bring a per-

secution upon them for true belief, who, with an incompetent authority and insufficient grounds, do persecute an error less material in persons agreeing with them in the profession of the same common faith. And I have heard it observed, as a blessing upon St. Austin (who was so merciful to erring persons, as, the greatest part of his life, in all senses, even when he had twice changed his mind, yet to tolerate them, and never to endure they should be given over to the secular power to be killed), that the very night the Vandals set down before his city of Hippo, to besiege it, he died and went to God; being, as a reward of his merciful doctrine, taken from the miseries to come. And yet that very thing was also a particular issue of the Divine Providence upon that city, who, not long before, had altered their profession into truth by force, and now were falling into their power, who afterward, by a greater force, turned them to be Arians.

But, in the Church of Rome, the popes were the first preachers of force and violence, in matters of opinion, and that so zealously, that Pope Vigilius suffered himself to be imprisoned and handled roughly by the Emperor Justinian, rather than he would consent to the restitution and peace of certain disagreeing persons. But as yet it came not so far as death. The first that preached that doctrine was Dominic, the founder of the begging orders of friars, the friar-preachers; in memory of which the Inquisition is intrusted only to the friars of his order. And if there be any force in dreams, or truth in legends (as there is not much in either),

this very thing might be signified by his mother's dream, who, the night before Dominic was born, dreamed she was brought to bed of a huge dog, with a fire-brand in his mouth. Sure enough, however his disciples expound the dream, it was a better sign that he should prove a rabid, furious incendiary than any thing else: whatever he might be in the other parts of his life, in his doctrine he was not much better, as appears in his deportment towards the Albigenses, against whom he so preached, "adeo quidem ut centum hæreticorum millia ab octo millibus catholicorum fusa et interfecta fuisse perhibeantur," saith one of him; and of those who were taken, one hundred and eighty were burnt to death, because they would not abjure their doctrine.[m] This was the first example of putting erring persons to death that I find in the Roman Church. For about one hundred and seventy years before, Berengarius fell into opinion concerning the blessed sacrament, which they called heresy, and recanted, and relapsed, and recanted again, and fell again two or three times, saith Gerson, writing against "Romant of the Rose," and yet he died 'sicca morte,—his own natural death,' and with hope of heaven, and yet Hildebrand was once his judge: which shews that, at that time, Rome was not come to so great heights of bloodshed. In England, although the pope had as great power here as any where, yet there were no executions for matter of

[m] Bruno Beregnos è sua diœcesi expulit, non morti aut suppliciis corporalibus tradidit.

opinion known till the time of Henry IV., who, because he usurped the crown, was willing, by all means, to endear the clergy by destroying their enemies, that so he might be sure of them, to all his purposes. And, indeed, it may become them well enough, who are wiser in their generations than the children of light,—it may possibly serve the policies of evil persons, but never the pure and chaste designs of Christianity, which admits no blood but Christ's, and the imitating blood of martyrs, but knows nothing how to serve her ends by persecuting any of her erring children.

By this time, I hope it will not be thought reasonable to say, he that teaches mercy to erring persons teaches indifference in religion: unless so many fathers, and so many churches, and the best of emperors, and all the world (till they were abused by tyranny, popery, and faction), did teach indifference. For I have shewn that Christianity does not punish corporally persons erring spiritually, but indeed popery does: the Donatists, and Circumcellians, and Arians, and the Itaciani, they of old did: in the middle ages, the patrons of images did, and the papists at this day do, and have done, ever since they were taught it by their St. Dominic.

Seventhly; And yet after all this, I have something more to exempt myself from the clamour of this objection. For let all errors be as much and as zealously suppressed as may be (the doctrine of the following discourse contradicts not that); but let it be done by such means as are proper instruments

of their suppression, by preaching and disputation (so that neither of them breed disturbance), by charity and sweetness, by holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, by the word of God and prayer.

For these ways are most natural, most prudent, most peaceable and effectual. Only let not men be hasty in calling every disliked opinion by the name of heresy; and when they have resolved that they will call it so, let them use the erring person like a brother, not beat him like a dog, or convince him with a gibbet, or vex him out of his understanding and persuasions.

And now if men will still say, 'I persuade to indifference,' there is no help for me, for I have given reasons against it; I must bear it as well as I can; I am not yet without remedy as they are; for patience will help me, and reason will not cure them: let them take their course, and I will take mine.

Only I will take leave to consider this, and they would do well to do so too, that unless faith be kept within its own latitude, and not called out to patrocinate every less necessary opinion, and the interest of every sect or peevish person; and if damnation be pronounced against Christians believing the creed, and living good lives, because they are deceived, or are said to be deceived, in some opinions less necessary: there is no way in the world to satisfy unlearned persons, in the choice of their religion, or to appease the unquietness of a scrupulous conscience. For suppose an honest citizen, whose employment and parts will not enable

him to judge the disputes and arguings of great clerks, sees factions commenced and managed with much bitterness, by persons who might, on either hand, be fit enough to guide him; when, if he follows either, he is disquieted, and pronounced damned by the other (who also, if he be the most unreasonable in his opinion, will, perhaps, be the more furious in his sentence): what shall this man do? where shall he rest the sole of his foot? Upon the doctrine of the church where he lives? Well, but that he hears declaimed against perpetually, and other churches claim highly and pretend fairly for truth, and condemn his church. If I tell him that he must live a good life, and believe the creed, and not trouble himself with their disputes, or interest himself in sects and factions, I speak reason; because no law of God ties him to believe more than what is of essential necessity, and whatsoever he shall come to know to be revealed by God. Now if he believes his creed, he believes all that is necessary to all, or of itself; and if he does his moral endeavour beside, he can do no more toward finding out all the rest, and then he is secured. But then, if this will secure him, why do men press further, and pretend every opinion as necessary, and that in so high a degree, that if they all said true, or any two indeed of them, in five hundred sects which are in the world (and for aught I know there may be five thousand), it is five hundred to one but that every man is damned; for every sect damns all but itself, and that is damned of four hundred and ninety-nine, and it is excellent fortune

then if that escape. And there is the same reason in every one of them, that is, it is extreme unreasonableness, in all of them, to pronounce damnation against such persons, against whom clearly and dogmatically Holy Scripture hath not. "In odiosis, quod minimum est sequimur; in favoribus, quod est maximum," saith the law; and, therefore, we should say any thing, or make any excuse, that is in any degree reasonable, rather than condemn all the world to hell; especially if we consider these two things,—that we ourselves are as apt to be deceived as any are; and that they who are deceived, when they used their moral industry, that they might not be deceived, if they perish for this, they perish for what they could not help.

But, however, if the best security in the world be not in neglecting all sects and subdivisions of men, and fixing ourselves on points necessary and plain, and on honest and pious endeavours, according to our several capacities and opportunities for all the rest,—if, I say, all this be not, through the mercies of God, the best security to all unlearned persons, and learned too, where shall we fix? where shall we either have peace or security? If you bid me follow your doctrine, you must tell me why; and perhaps when you have, I am not able to judge; or if I be as able as other people are, yet, when I have judged, I may be deceived too, and so may you, or any man else you bid me follow; so that I am not the whit the nearer truth or peace.

And then, if we look abroad, and consider how there is scarce any church but is highly charged by

many adversaries in many things, possibly we may see a reason to charge every one of them, in some things; and what shall we do then? The Church of Rome hath spots enough, and all the world is inquisitive enough to find out more, and to represent these to her greatest disadvantage. The Greek churches deny the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. If that be false doctrine, she is highly to blame; if it be not, then all the Western churches are to blame for saying the contrary. And there is no church that is in prosperity, but alters her doctrine every age, either by bringing in new doctrines, or by contradicting her old; which shews that none are satisfied with themselves, or with their own confessions. And since all churches believe themselves fallible, that only excepted, which all other churches say is most of all deceived,—it were strange if, in so many articles, which make up their several bodies of confessions, they had not mistaken, every one of them, in some thing or other. The Lutheran churches maintain consubstantiation, the Zuinglians are sacramentaries, the Calvinists are fierce in the matters of absolute predetermination, and all these reject episcopacy; which the Primitive Church would have made no doubt to have called heresy. The Socinians profess a portentous number of strange opinions; they deny the Holy Trinity, and the satisfaction of our blessed Saviour. The Anabaptists laugh at Pædo-baptism; the Ethiopian churches are Nestorian. Where then shall we fix our confidence, or join communion? To pitch upon any one of *these* is to throw the dice, if salvation be to be had

only in one of them, and that every error that by chance hath made a sect, and is distinguished by a name, be damnable.

If this consideration does not deceive me, we have no other help in the midst of these distractions and disunions, but all of us to be united in that common term, which as it does constitute the Church in its being such, so it is the medium of the communion of saints; and that is the creed of the apostles; and, in all other things, an honest endeavour to find out what truths we can,[n] and a charitable and mutual permission to others that disagree from us and our opinions. I am sure this may satisfy us, for it will secure us; but I know not any thing else that will: and no man can be reasonably persuaded or satisfied in any thing else, unless he throws himself upon chance, or absolute predestination, or his own confidence; in every one of which it is two to one, at least, but he may miscarry.

Thus far, I thought I had reason on my side, and I suppose I have made it good, upon its proper grounds, in the pages following. But then, if the result be, that men must be permitted in their opinions, and that Christians must not persecute Christians, I have also as much reason to reprove all those oblique arts which are not direct persecutions of men's persons, but they are indirect proceedings, ungentle and unchristian, servants of

[n] Clem. Alex. stromat. 1. ait philosophiam liberam esse præstantissimam, quæ scilicet versatur in perspicaciter seligendis dogmatis omnium sectarum. Polemo Alexandrinus philosophatus est, ut ait Laertius in procemio, unde cognominatus est Ἐκλεκτέμινος, scilicet, τὰ ἀρέσαντα ἐξ ἑκάστης τῶν αἱρέσεων.

faction and interest, provocations to zeal and animosities, and destructive of learning and ingenuity. And these are, suppressing all the monuments of their adversaries, forcing them to recant, and burning their books.

For it is a strange industry, and an importune diligence that was used by our forefathers; of all those heresies which gave them battle and employment, we have absolutely no record or monument, but what themselves, who are adversaries, have transmitted to us; and we know that adversaries, especially such who observed all opportunities to discredit both the persons and doctrines of the enemy, are not always the best records or witnesses of such transactions. We see it now in this very age, in the present distemperatures, that parties are no good registers of the actions of the adverse side: and if we cannot be confident of the truth of a story now, now I say that it is possible for any man, and likely that the interested adversary will discover the imposture, it is far more unlikely that after ages should know any other truth, but such as serves the ends of the representers. I am sure such things were never taught us by Christ and his apostles: and if we were sure that ourselves spoke the truth, or that truth were able to justify herself, it were better if, to preserve a doctrine, we did not destroy a commandment, and out of zeal, pretending to Christian religion, lose the glories and rewards of ingenuity and Christian simplicity.

Of the same consideration is mending of authors,

not to their own mind, but to ours, that is, to mend them so as to spoil them; forbidding the publication of books in which there is nothing impious or against the public interest, leaving out clauses in translations, disgracing men's persons, charging disavowed doctrines upon men, and the persons of the men with the consequents of their doctrine, which they deny either to be true or to be consequent; false reporting of disputations and conferences, burning books by the hand of the hangman, and all such arts, which shew that we either distrust God for the maintenance of his truth, or that we distrust the cause, or distrust ourselves and our abilities. I will say no more of these, but only concerning the last I shall transcribe a passage out of Tacitus, in the Life of Julius Agricola, who gives this account of it: "Veniam non petîssem, ni incusaturus tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cùm Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo autores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato Triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet, illo igne vocem populi Romani, et libertatem senatus, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret."[o]—It is but an illiterate policy to think that such indirect and uningenuous

[o] Oberlin. c. ii.

proceedings can, among wise and free men, disgrace the authors, and disrepute their discourses. And I have seen that the price hath been trebled upon a forbidden or a condemned book; and some men in policy have got a prohibition, that their impression might be the more certainly vendible, and the author himself thought considerable.

The best way is to leave tricks and devices, and to fall upon that way which the best ages of the Church did use. With the strength of argument, and allegations of Scripture, and modesty of deportment, and meekness and charity to the persons of men, they converted misbelievers, stopped the mouths of adversaries, asserted truth, and discountenanced error; and those other stratagems and arts of support and maintenance to doctrines, were the issues of heretical brains. The old catholics had nothing to secure themselves but the ἓν μέγα of truth and plain dealing.

Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus,
  Ut quisque lingua est nequior.
Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula
  Per syllogismos plectiles.
Væ captiosis sycophantarum strophis,
  Væ versipelli astutiæ.
Nodos tenaces recta rumpit regula,
  Infesta discertantibus:
Idcirco mundi stulta deligit Deus,
  Ut concidant sophistica.

And, to my understanding, it is a plain art and design of the devil, to make us so in love with our own opinions, as to call them faith and religion, that we may be proud in our understanding: and besides that, by our zeal in our opinions, we

grow cool in our piety and practical duties; he also by this earnest contention does directly destroy good life, by engagement of zealots to do any thing rather than be overcome, and lose their beloved propositions. But I would fain know, why is not any vicious habit as bad or worse than a false opinion? Why are we so zealous against those we call heretics, and yet great friends with drunkards, fornicators, and swearers, and intemperate and idle persons? Is it because we are commanded by the apostle to 'reject a heretic after two admonitions, and not bid such a one God speed?' It is good reason why we should be zealous against such persons, provided we mistake them not. For those of whom these apostles speak, are such as deny Christ to be come in the flesh, such as deny an article of creed; and in such odious things, it is not safe, nor charitable, to extend the gravamen and punishment beyond the instances the apostles make, or their exact parallels. But then also it would be remembered that the apostles speak as fiercely against communion with fornicators, and all disorders practical, as against communion with heretics: "If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one, no, not to eat." I am certain that a drunkard is as contrary to God, and lives as contrary to the laws of Christianity, as a heretic; and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is: but I am not sure that such an opinion is heresy; neither

would other men be so sure as they think for, if they did consider it aright, and observe the infinite deceptions, and causes of deceptions, in wise men, and in most things, and in all doubtful questions, and that they did not mistake confidence for certainty.

But, indeed, I could not but smile at those jolly friars; two Franciscans offered themselves to the fire, to prove Savonarola to be a heretic; but a certain jacobine[p] offered himself to the fire to prove that Savonarola had true revelations, and was no heretic: in the meantime Savonarola preached, but made no such confident offer, nor durst he venture at that new kind of fire ordeal. And put case all four had passed through the fire, and died in the flames, what would that have proved? Had he been a heretic or no heretic, the more or less, for the confidence of these zealous idiots? If we mark it, a great many arguments whereon many sects rely, are no better probation than this comes to. Confidence is the first, and the second, and the third part, of a very great many of their propositions.

But now, if men would a little turn the tables, and be as zealous for a good life, and all the strictest precepts of Christianity (which is a religion the most holy, the most reasonable, and the most consummate, that ever was taught to man), as they are for such propositions in which neither

[p] Commin. lib. viii. c. 19.

the life nor the ornament of Christianity is concerned, we should find that, as a consequent of this piety, men would be as careful as they could to find out all truths, and the sense of all revelations, which may concern their duty; and where men were miserable and could not, yet others that lived good lives too, would also be so charitable as not to add affliction to this misery: and both of them are parts of good life. To be compassionate, and to help to bear one another's burdens, not to destroy the weak, but to entertain him meekly, that is a precept of charity; and to endeavour to find out the whole will of God, that also is a part of the obedience, the choice and the excellence of faith: and he lives not a good life that does not do both these.

But men think they have more reason to be zealous against heresy, than against a vice in manners; because heresy is infectious and dangerous, and the principle of much evil. Indeed, if by a heresy we mean that which is against an article of creed, and breaks part of the covenant made between God and man, by the mediation of Jesus Christ, I grant it to be a very grievous crime, a calling God's veracity into question, and a destruction also of good life; because, upon the articles of creed, obedience is built, and it lives, or dies, as the effect does, by its proper cause,—for faith is the moral cause of obedience. But then heresy, that is such as this, is also a vice, and the person criminal, and so the sin is to be esteemed in its degrees of

malignity; and let men be as zealous against it as they can, and employ the whole arsenal of the spiritual armour against it: such as this is worse than adultery or murder, inasmuch as the soul is more noble than the body, and a false doctrine is of greater dissemination and extent than a single act of violence or impurity. Adultery or murder is a duel; but heresy (truly and indeed such) is an unlawful war,—it slays thousands. The losing of faith is like digging down a foundation; all the superstructures of hope, and patience, and charity, fall with it. And besides this, heresy of all crimes is the most inexcusable, and of least temptation: for true faith is most commonly kept with the least trouble of any grace in the world; and heresy of itself hath not only no pleasure in it, but is a very punishment; because faith, as it opposes heretical or false opinions, and distinguishes from charity, consists in mere acts of believing; which, because they are of true propositions, are natural and proportionable to the understanding, and more honourable than false. But then, concerning those things which men nowadays call heresy, they cannot be so formidable as they are represented; and if we consider that drunkenness is certainly a damnable sin, and that there are more drunkards than heretics, and that drunkenness is parent of a thousand vices, it may better be said of this vice than of most of those opinions which we call heresies, 'it is infectious and dangerous, and the principle of much evil;' and, therefore, as fit an object for a pious zeal to contest

against, as is any of those opinions which trouble men's ease or reputation, for that is the greatest of their malignity.

But if we consider that sects are made, and opinions are called heresies upon interest, and the grounds of emolument, we shall see that a good life would cure much of this mischief. For first, the Church of Rome, which is the great dictatrix of dogmatical resolutions, and the declarer of heresy, and calls heretic more than all the world besides, hath made that the rule of heresy which is the conservatory of interest and the ends of men. For, to recede from the doctrine of the Church, with them makes heresy; that is, to disrepute their authority, and not to obey them, not to be their subjects, not to give them the empire of our conscience, is the great *κριτήριον* of heresy.

So that, with them, heresy is to be esteemed clearly by human ends, not by Divine rules; that is formal heresy, which does materially deserve them. And it would make a suspicious man a little inquisitive into their particular doctrines: and when he finds that indulgences, and jubilees, and purgatories, and masses, and offices for the dead, are very profitable,—that the doctrine of primacy, of infallibility, of superiority over councils, of indirect power in temporals, are great instruments of secular honour; he would be apt enough to think that if the Church of Rome would learn to lay her honour at the feet of the crucifix, and despise the world, and prefer Jerusalem before Rome, and

heaven above the Lateran, that these opinions would not have in them any native strength to support them against the perpetual assaults of their adversaries, that speak so much reason and Scripture against them. I have instanced in the Roman religion, but I wish it may be considered also, how far men's doctrines, in other sects, serve men's temporal ends; so far that it would not be unreasonable or unnecessary to attempt to cure some of their distemperatures or mispersuasious, by the salutary precepts of sanctity and holy life. Sure enough, if it did not more concern their reputation, and their lasting interest, to be counted true believers rather than good livers, they would rather endeavour to live well, than to be accounted of a right opinion in things beside the creed.

For my own particular, I cannot but expect that God, in his justice, should enlarge the bounds of the Turkish empire, or some other way punish Christians, by reason of their pertinacious disputing about things unnecessary, undeterminable, and unprofitable, and for their hating and persecuting their brethren, which should be as dear to them as their own lives, for not consenting to one another's follies and senseless vanities. How many volumes have been written about angels, about immaculate conception, about original sin, when that all that is solid reason or clear revelation, in all these three articles, may be reasonably enough comprised in forty lines! And in these trifles and impertinencies men are curiously busy, while they neglect those glorious

precepts of Christianity and holy life, which are the glories of our religion, and would enable us to a happy eternity.

My lord, thus far my thoughts have carried me, and then I thought I had reason to go further, and to examine the proper grounds upon which these persuasions might rely and stand firm, in case any body should contest against them. For, possibly, men may be angry at me, and my design: for I do all them great displeasure, who think no end is then well served, when their interest is disserved; and but that I have written so untowardly and heavily, that I am not worth a consideration, possibly some or other might be writing against me. But then I must tell them, I am prepared of an answer beforehand: for I think I have spoken reason in my book, and examined it with all the severity I have; and if after all this I be deceived, this confirms me in my first opinion, and becomes a new argument to me that I have spoken reason; for it furnishes me with a new instance that it is necessary there should be a mutual compliance and toleration, because even then when a man thinks he hath most reason to be confident, he may easily be deceived.

For I am sure I have no other design but the prosecution and advantage of truth, and I may truly use the words of Gregory Nazianzen, "Non studemus paci in detrimentum veræ doctrinæ,—ut facilitatis et mansuetudinis famam colligamus:"—but I have written this, because I thought it was necessary, and seasonable, and charitable, and agreeable to the great precepts and design of Christianity, consonant

to the practice of the apostles, and of the best ages of the Church, most agreeable to Scripture and reason, to revelation and the nature of the thing; and it is such a doctrine, that, if there be variety in human affairs, if the event of things be not settled in a durable consistence, but is changeable, every one of us all may have need of it. I shall only, therefore, desire that they who will read it, may come to the reading it with as much simplicity of purposes and unmixed desires of truth, as I did to the writing it; and that no man trouble himself with me or my discourse, that thinks beforehand that his opinion cannot be reasonably altered. If he thinks me to be mistaken before he tries, let him also think that he may be mistaken too,—and that he who judges before he hears, is mistaken, though he gives a right sentence.

Οὐ δεῖ σχιτλιάζειν καὶ βοᾷν, πρὶν ἂν μάθῃς,[q]

was good counsel. But at a venture, I shall leave this sentence of Solomon to his consideration, "A wise man feareth, and departeth from evil; but a fool rageth, and is confident."—Πάντα εἰδέναι οἴεσθαι καὶ διϊσχυρίζεσθαι 'is a trick of boys, and bold young fellows, says Aristotle; but they who either know themselves, or things, or persons, προστιθέασιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἴσως, καὶ τὸ τάχα. Peradventure yea, peradventure no, is very often the wisest determination of a question. For there are μωραὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι ζητήσεις, as the apostle notes,—"Foolish and unlearned questions:"[r] and it

[q] Aristoph. in Plato. 477. Brunck.

[r] 2 Tim. ii.

were better to stop the current of such fopperies by silence, than, by disputing them, convey them to posterity. And many things there are of more profit, which yet are of no more certainty; and, therefore, boldness of assertion (except it be in matters of faith and clearest revelation) is an argument of the vanity of the man, never of the truth of the proposition: for, to such matters, the saying of Xenophanes, in Varro, is pertinent and applicable, "Hominis est hæc opinari, Dei scire;—God only knows them, and we conjecture."

Μάντις ἄριστος ἔστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

And although I be as desirous to know what I should, and what I should not, as any of my brethren, the sons of Adam; yet I find that the more I search, the further I am from being satisfied, and make but few discoveries, save of my own ignorance: and, therefore, I am desirous to follow the example of a very wise personage, Julius Agricola, of whom Tacitus gave this testimony, "Retinuitque (quod est difficillimum) ex scientia modum:" or, that I may take my precedent from within the pale of the Church, it was the saying of St. Austin, "Mallem quidem eorum, quæ à me quæsivisti, habere scientiam quam ignorantiam; sed quia id nondum potui, magis eligo cautam ignorantiam confiteri, quam falsam scientiam profiteri." And these words do very much express my sense. But if there be any man so confident as Luther sometimes was, who said that he could expound all Scripture; or so vain as Eckius, who, in

his "Chrysopassus," ventured upon the highest and most mysterious question of predestination, "ut in ea juveniles possit calores exercere;" such persons as these, or any that is furious in his opinion, will scorn me and my discourse: but I shall not be much moved at it, only I shall wish that I had as much knowledge as they think me to want, and they as much as they believe themselves to have. In the meantime, modesty were better for us both, and indeed for all men. For when men indeed are knowing, amongst other things they are able to separate certainties from uncertainties: if they be not knowing, it is pity that their ignorance should be triumphant, or discompose the public peace, or private confidence.

And now, my Lord, that I have inscribed this book to your Lordship, although it be a design of doing honour to myself, that I have marked it with so honoured and beloved a name, might possibly need as much excuse as it does pardon, but that your Lordship knows your own: for out of your mines I have digged the mineral; only I have stamped it with my own image, as you may perceive by the deformities which are in it. But your great name in letters will add so much value to it, as to make it obtain its pardon amongst all them that know how to value you, and all your relatives and dependants, by the proportion of relation. For others I shall be incurious, because the number of them that honour you is the same with them that honour learning and piety, and they are the best theatre, and the best judges; amongst which the

world must needs take notice of my ambition, to be ascribed by my public pretence to be, what I am in all heartiness of devotion, and for all the reason of the world,

My honoured Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

And most affectionate Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΗ,

OR,

A DISCOURSE

OF

THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING,

WITH

ITS JUST LIMITS AND TEMPER.

THE infinite variety of opinions, in matters of religion, as they have troubled Christendom with interests, factions, and partialities, so have they caused great divisions of the heart, and variety of thoughts and designs amongst pious and prudent men. For they all, seeing the inconveniences which the disunion of persuasions and opinions have produced, directly or accidentally, have thought themselves obliged to stop this inundation of mischiefs, and have made attempts accordingly. But it hath happened to most of them, as to a mistaken physician, who gives excellent physic, but misapplies it, and so misses of his cure: so have these men; their attempts have, therefore, been ineffectual: for they put their help to a wrong part, or they have endeavoured to cure the symptoms, and have let the disease alone till it seemed incurable. Some have endeavoured to reunite these fractions, by propounding such a guide which they were all bound to follow; hoping that the unity of a guide would have persuaded unity of minds; but who this guide should be, at last, became such a question, that it was made part of the fire that was to be quenched, so far was it from extinguishing any part of the flame. Others thought of a rule, and this must be the means of union, or nothing could do it. But supposing all the world had been agreed of this rule, yet the interpretation of it was so full of variety, that this also

became part of the disease for which the cure was pretended. All men resolved upon this, that, though they yet had not hit upon the right, yet some way must be thought upon to reconcile differences in opinion, thinking, so long as this variety should last, Christ's kingdom was not advanced, and the work of the Gospel went on but slowly. Few men, in the meantime, considered, that so long as men had such variety of principles, such several constitutions, educations, tempers, and distempers, hopes, interests, and weaknesses, degrees of light and degrees of understanding, it was impossible all should be of one mind. And what is impossible to be done, is not necessary it should be done. And, therefore, although variety of opinions was impossible to be cured (and they who attempted it did like him who claps his shoulder to the ground to stop an earthquake); yet the inconveniences arising from it, might possibly be cured, not by uniting their beliefs,—that was to be despaired of, but by curing that which caused these mischiefs, and accidental inconveniences of their disagreeings. For although these inconveniences, which every man sees and feels, were consequent to this diversity of persuasions, yet it was but accidentally and by chance; inasmuch as we see that in many things, and they of great concernment, men allow to themselves, and to each other, a liberty of disagreeing, and no hurt neither. And, certainly, if diversity of opinions were, of itself, the cause of mischiefs, it would be so ever, that is, regularly and universally: but that we see it is not. For there are disputes in Christendom concerning matters of greater concernment than most of those opinions that distinguish sects and make factions; and yet, because men are permitted to differ in those great matters, such evils are not consequent to such differences, as are to the uncharitable managing of smaller and more inconsiderable questions. It is of greater consequence to believe right in the question of the validity or invalidity of a death-bed repentance, than to believe aright in the question of purgatory; and the consequences of the doctrine of predetermination are of deeper and more material consideration than the products of the belief of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of private masses: and yet these great concernments, where a liberty of prophesying in these questions hath been permitted, have made no distinct communion, no sects of

Christians, and the others have; and so have these too, in those places where they have peremptorily been determined on either side. Since, then, if men are quiet and charitable in some disagreeings, that then and there the inconvenience ceases; if they were so in all others, where lawfully they might (and they may in most), Christendom should be no longer rent in pieces, but would be redintegrated in a new Pentecost. And although the Spirit of God did rest upon us in divided tongues, yet, so long as those tongues were of fire, not to kindle strife, but to warm our affections and inflame our charities, we should find that this variety of opinions in several persons would be looked upon as an argument only of diversity of operations, while the Spirit is the same: and that another man believes not so well as I, is only an argument that I have a better and a clearer illumination than he, that I have a better gift than he, received a special grace and favour, and excel him in this, and am, perhaps, excelled by him in many more. And if we all impartially endeavour to find a truth, since this endeavour and search only is in our power, that we shall find it being 'ab extra,' a gift and an assistance extrinsical, I can see no reason why this pious endeavour to find out truth shall not be of more force to unite us in the bonds of charity, than the misery in missing it shall be to disunite us. So that since a union of persuasion is impossible to be attained, if we would attempt the cure by such remedies as are apt to enkindle and increase charity, I am confident we might see a blessed peace would be the reward and crown of such endeavours.

But men are, nowadays, and indeed always have been, since the expiration of the first blessed ages of Christianity, so in love with their own fancies and opinions, as to think faith and all Christendom is concerned in their support and maintenance; and whoever is not so fond, and does not dandle them like themselves, it grows up to a quarrel, which, because it is in 'materiâ theologiæ,' is made a quarrel in religion, and God is entitled to it; and then if you are once thought an enemy to God, it is our duty to persecute you even to death,—we do God good service in it: when, if we should examine the question rightly, the question is either in 'materiâ non revelata,' or 'minus evidenti,' or 'non necessariâ,' either it is not revealed, or not so clearly, but that

wise and honest men may be of different minds; or else it is not of the foundation of faith, but a remote superstructure; or else of mere speculation; or perhaps, when all comes to all, it is a false opinion, or a matter of human interest, that we have so zealously contended for; for to one of these heads most of the disputes of Christendom may be reduced; so that I believe the present fractions, or the most, are from the same cause which St. Paul observed in the Corinthian schism: "When there are divisions among you, are ye not carnal?" It is not the differing opinions that is the cause of the present ruptures, but want of charity; it is not the variety of understandings, but the disunion of wills and affections; it is not the several principles, but the several ends, that cause our miseries; our opinions commence, and are upheld, according as our turns are served, and our interests are preserved, and there is no cure for us but piety and charity. A holy life will make our belief holy, if we consult not humanity, and its imperfections, in the choice of our religion, but search for truth without designs, save only of acquiring heaven, and then be as careful to preserve charity as we were to get a point of faith; I am as much persuaded we shall find out more truths by this means: or however, which is the main of all, we shall be secured though we miss them; and then we are well enough.

For if it be evinced that one heaven shall hold men of several opinions, if the unity of faith be not destroyed by that which men call differing religions, and if a unity of charity be the duty of us all, even towards persons that are not persuaded of every proposition we believe, then I would fain know to what purpose are all those stirs and great noises in Christendom; those names of faction, the several names of churches not distinguished by the division of kingdoms, 'ut ecclesia sequatur imperium,' which was the primitive rule and canon,[a] but distinguished by names of sects and men; these are all become instruments of hatred; thence come schisms and parting of communions, and then persecutions, and then wars and rebellion, and then the dissolutions of all friendships and societies. All these mischiefs proceed not from this, that all men are not of one mind, for that is neither neces-

[a] Optat. lib. iii.

sary nor possible,—but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is a ground of a quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal pretends for God, and whatsoever is for God cannot be too much; we, by this time, are come to that pass, we think we love not God except we hate our brother, and we have not the virtue of religion, unless we persecute all religions but our own; for lukewarmness is so odious to God and man, that we, proceeding furiously upon these mistakes, by supposing we preserve the body, we destroy the soul of religion,—or, by being zealous for faith, or, which is all one, for that which we mistake for faith, we are cold in charity, and so lose the reward of both.

All these errors and mischiefs must be discovered and cured, and that is the purpose of this discourse.

SECTION I.

Of the Nature of Faith, and that its Duty is completed in believing the Articles of the Apostles' Creed.

1. First, then, it is of great concernment to know the nature and integrity of faith, for there begins our first and great mistake; for faith, although it be of great excellence, yet when it is taken for a habit intellectual, it hath so little room, and so narrow a capacity, that it cannot lodge thousands of those opinions which pretend to be of her family.

2. For although it be necessary for us to believe whatsoever we know to be revealed of God, and so every man does that believes there is a God, yet it is not necessary, concerning many things, to know that God hath revealed them; that is, we may be ignorant of, or doubt concerning, the propositions, and indifferently maintain either part, when the question is not concerning God's veracity, but whether God hath said so or no: that which is of the foundation of faith, that only is necessary; and the knowing or not knowing of that, the believing or disbelieving it, is that only which, in 'genere credendorum,' is in immediate and necessary order to salvation or damnation.

3. Now, all the reason and demonstration of the world convinces us, that this foundation of faith, or the great adequate object of the faith that saves us, is that great mysteriousness of Christianity which Christ taught with so much diligence,—for the credibility of which he wrought so many miracles,—for the testimony of which the apostles endured persecutions,—that which was a folly to the Gentiles, and a scandal to the Jews; this is that which is the object of a Christian's faith: all other things are implicitly in the belief of the articles of God's veracity, and are not necessary, in respect of the constitution of faith, to be drawn out, but may there lie in the bowels of the great articles, without danger to any thing or any person, unless some other accident or circumstance makes them necessary. Now, the great object which I speak of, is "Jesus Christ crucified;" "Constitui enim apud vos nihil scire præter Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum;" so said St. Paul to the Church of Corinth. This is the article, upon the confession of which Christ built his Church, viz. only upon St. Peter's creed, which was no more but this simple enunciation, "We believe, and are sure, that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God:"[a] and to this, salvation particularly is promised, as in the case of Martha's creed.[b] To this the Scripture gives the greatest testimony, and to all them that confess it; "For every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and whoever confesseth that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God."[c] The believing this article is the end of writing the four Gospels: "For all these things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God;" and then that this is sufficient follows, and that "believing," viz. this article, for this was only instanced in, "ye might have life through his name."[d] This is that great article which, in 'genere credendorum,' is sufficient disposition to prepare a catechumen to baptism, as appears in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch, whose creed was only this, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;" and upon this confession, saith the story, they both went into the water, and the Ethiop was washed, and became as white as snow.

[a] Matt. xvi. 16. [b] John, xi. 27. [c] 1 John, iv. 2, 15. [d] John, xx. 31.

4. In these particular instances there is no variety of articles, save only that in the annexes of the several expressions, such things are expressed, as besides that Christ is come, they tell from whence, and to what purpose; and whatsoever is expressed, or is, to these purposes, implied, is made articulate and explicate in the short and admirable, mysterious creed of St. Paul: "This is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe, in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."* This is the great and entire complexion of a Christian's faith, and since salvation is promised to the belief of this creed, either a snare is laid for us, with a purpose to deceive us, or else nothing is of prime and original necessity to be believed, but this 'Jesus Christ, our Redeemer;' and all that which is the necessary parts, means, or mean actions, of working this redemption for us, and the honour for him, is in the bowels and fold of the great article, and claims an explicit belief, by the same reason that binds us to the belief of its first complexion, without which neither the thing could be acted, nor the proposition understood.

5. For the act of believing propositions is not for itself, but in order to certain ends; as sermons are to good life and obedience; for (excepting that it acknowledges God's veracity, and so is a direct act of religion) believing a revealed proposition hath no excellence in itself, but in order to that end for which we are instructed in such revelations. Now, God's great purpose being to bring us to him by Jesus Christ, Christ is our medium to God,—obedience is the medium to Christ,—and faith the medium to obedience, and, therefore, is to have its estimate in proportion to its proper end; and those things are necessary which necessarily promote the end, without which obedience cannot be encouraged, or prudently enjoined: so that those articles are necessary, that is, those are fundamental points, upon which we build our obedience; and as the influence of the article is to the persuasion or engagement of obedience, so they have their degrees of necessity. Now all that Christ, when he preached, taught us to believe, and all that the apostles, in

* Rom. x. 1.

their sermons, propound, all aim at this,—that we should acknowledge Christ for our Lawgiver and our Saviour; so that nothing can be necessary, by a prime necessity, to be believed explicitly, but such things which are, therefore, parts of the great article, because they either encourage our services, or oblige them,—such as declare Christ's greatness in himself, or his goodness to us: so that, although we must neither deny, nor doubt of any thing, which we know our great Master hath taught us, yet salvation is, in special and by name, annexed to the belief of those articles only, which have in them the endearments of our services, or the support of our confidence, or the satisfaction of our hopes; such as are, Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, forgiveness of sins by his blood, resurrection of the dead, and life eternal; because these propositions qualify Christ for our Saviour and our Lawgiver, the one to engage our services, the other to endear them; for so much is necessary as will make us to be his servants and his disciples; and what can be required more? This only:—Salvation is promised to the explicit belief of those articles, and, therefore, those only are necessary, and those are sufficient; but thus, to us, in the formality of Christians, which is a formality superadded to a former capacity, we, before we are Christians, are reasonable creatures, and capable of a blessed eternity; and there is a creed, which is the Gentiles' creed, which is so supposed in the Christians' creed, as it is supposed in a Christian to be a man, and that is, "oportet accedentem ad Deum credere Deum esse, et esse remuneratorem quærentium eum."

6. If any man will urge further, that whatsoever is deducible from these articles by necessary consequence, is necessary to be believed explicitly,—I answer: It is true, if he sees the deduction and coherence of the parts; but it is not certain that every man shall be able to deduce whatsoever is either immediately or certainly deducible from these premises; and then, since salvation is promised to the explicit belief of these, I see not how any man can justify the making the way to heaven narrower than Jesus Christ hath made it, it being already so narrow, that there are few that find it.

7. In the pursuance of this great truth, the apostles, or the holy men, their contemporaries and disciples, composed

a creed, to be a rule of faith to all Christians, as appears in Irenæus, Tertullian,[f] St. Cyprian,[g] St. Austin,[h] Ruffinus,[i] and divers others;[k] which creed, unless it had contained all the entire object of faith, and the foundation of religion, it cannot be imagined to what purpose it should serve; and that it was so esteemed by the whole Church of God, in all ages, appears in this,—that since faith is a necessary predisposition to baptism in all persons capable of the use of reason, all catechumens in the Latin Church, coming to baptism, were interrogated concerning their faith, and gave satisfaction in the recitation of this creed. And in the east they professed exactly the same faith, something differing in words, but of the same matter, reason, design, and consequence; and so they did at Jerusalem, so at Aquileia. This was that ὀρθὴ καὶ ἀμώμητος πίστις, ἥνπερ κηρύττει ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον καινισμὸν δεξαμένη. These articles were τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνων διατριψάντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις, διδάγματα.[l] Now since the apostles, and apostolical men, and churches, in these their symbols, did recite particular articles to a considerable number, and were so minute in their recitation, as to descend to circumstances, it is more than probable that they omitted nothing of necessity; and that these articles are not general principles, in the bosom of which many more articles, equally necessary to be believed explicitly, and more particular, are enfolded; but that it is as minute an explication of those 'prima credibilia' I before reckoned, as is necessary to salvation.

8. And, therefore, Tertullian calls the creed "Regulam fidei, quâ salvâ, et formâ ejus manente in suo ordine, possit in Scriptura tractari et inquiri si quid videtur, vel ambiguitate pendere, vel obscuritate obumbrari."—"Cordis signaculum, et nostræ militiæ sacramentum," St. Ambrose calls it.[m]—"Comprehensio fidei nostræ atque perfectio," by

[f] Apol. contr. Gent. c. xlvii. de Veland. Virg. c. i.

[g] In Exposit. Symbol. [h] Serm. v. de Tempore, c. ii.

[i] In Symbol. apud Cyprian.

[k] Omnes Orthodoxi Patres affirmant Symbolum ab ipsis Apostolis conditum, Sext. Senensis, lib. ii. bibl. 5. Vide Genebr. lib. iii. de Trin.

[l] Cod. de S. Trinit. ad Fid. Cath. cùm Recta. lib. v.

[m] De Velandis Virgin. lib. iii.

St. Austin.[n]—"Confessio, expositio, regula fidei," generally by the ancients. The profession of this creed was the exposition of that saying of St. Peter, Συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεὸν,—"The answer of a good conscience towards God." For of the recitation and profession of this creed in baptism, it is that Tertullian says,[o] "Anima non lotione, sed responsione sancitur." And of this was the prayer of Hilary,[p] "Conserva hanc conscientiæ meæ vocem, ut quod in regenerationis meæ symbolo, baptizatus in Patre, Filio, Spiritu Sancto, professus sum, semper obtineam." And according to the rule and reason of this discourse (that it may appear that the creed hath in it all articles 'primò et per se,' primely and universally necessary), the creed is just such an explication of that faith which the apostles preached, viz. the creed which St. Paul recites, as contains in it all those things which entitle Christ to us, in the capacities of our Lawgiver and our Saviour, such as enable him to the great work of redemption, according to the predictions concerning him, and such as engage and encourage our services. For, taking out the article of Christ's descent into hell (which was not in the old creed, as appears in some of the copies I before referred to, in Tertullian, Ruffinus, and Irenæus; and, indeed, was omitted in all the confessions of the eastern churches, in the Church of Rome, and in the Nicene creed, which, by adoption, came to be the creed of the catholic Church), all other articles are such as directly constitute the parts and work of our redemption, such as clearly derive the honour to Christ, and enable him with the capacities of our Saviour and Lord. The rest engage our services by proposition of such articles, which are rather promises than propositions; and the whole creed, take it in any of the old forms, is but an analysis of that which St. Paul calls 'the word of salvation, whereby we shall be saved,' viz. that 'we confess Jesus to be Lord, and that God raised him from the dead;' by the first whereof he became our Lawgiver and our Guardian; by the second he was our Saviour: the other things are but parts and main actions of those two. Now what reason there is in the world that can enwrap any thing else within the foundation, that is, in the whole body of

[n] Serm. cxv. [o] De Resur. Carnis. [p] De Trinit. lib. xii.

articles, simply and inseparably necessary, or in the prime original necessity of faith, I cannot possibly imagine. These do the work; and, therefore, nothing can, upon the true grounds of reason, enlarge the necessity to the enclosure of other articles.

9. Now if more were necessary than the articles of the creed, I demand why was it made the characteristic[q] note of a Christian from a heretic, or a Jew, or an infidel? or to what purpose was it composed? or if this was intended as sufficient, did the apostles, or those churches which they founded, know any thing else to be necessary? If they did not, then, either nothing more is necessary (I speak of matters of mere belief), or they did not know all the will of the Lord, and so were unfit dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom; or if they did know more was necessary, and yet would not insert it, they did an act of public notice, and consigned it to all ages of the Church, to no purpose, unless to beguile credulous people, by making them believe their faith was sufficient, having tried it by that touchstone apostolical, when there was no such matter.

10. But, if this was sufficient to bring men to heaven then, why not now? If the apostles admitted all to their communion that believed this creed, why shall we exclude any that preserve the same entire? Why is not our faith of these articles of as much efficacy for bringing us to heaven, as it was in the churches apostolical, who had guides more infallible, that might, without error, have taught them superstructures enough, if they had been necessary? And so they did; but that they did not insert them into the creed, when they might have done it with as much certainty as these articles, makes it clear to my understanding, that other things were not necessary, but these were; that whatever profit and advantages might come from other articles, yet these were sufficient, and however certain persons might accidentally be obliged to believe much more, yet this was the one and only foundation of faith, upon which all persons were to build their hopes of heaven; this was, therefore, necessary to be taught to all, because of necessity to be believed by all: so that, although other persons might

[q] Vide Isidor. de Eccl. Offic. lib. i. cap. 20. Suidan. Turnebum. lib. ii. c. 30. advers. Venant. For. in Exag. Symb. Fevardent. in Iren. lib. i. c. 2.

commit a delinquency 'in genere morum,' if they did not know, or did not believe much more, because they were obliged to further disquisitions in order to other ends, yet none of these who held the creed entire, could perish for want of necessary faith, though possibly he might for supine negligence or affected ignorance, or some other fault which had influence upon his opinions, and his understanding, he having a new supervening obligation, 'ex accidente,' to know and believe more.

11. Neither are we obliged to make these articles more particular and minute than the creed. For since the apostles, and, indeed, our blessed Lord himself, promised heaven to them who believed him to be the Christ that was to come into the world, and that he who believes in him should be partaker of the resurrection and life eternal, he will be as good as his word. Yet, because this article was very general, and a complexion rather than a single proposition, the apostles and others, our fathers in Christ, did make it more explicit; and though they have said no more than what lay entire, and ready formed in the bosom of the great article, yet, they made their extracts to great purpose, and absolute sufficiency; and, therefore, there needs no more deductions, or remoter consequences, from the first great article, than the creed of the apostles. For although whatsoever is certainly deduced from any of these articles, made already so explicit, is as certainly true, and as much to be believed, as the article itself, because 'ex veris possunt nil nisi vera sequi:' yet because it is not certain that our deductions from them are certain, and what one calls evident is so obscure to another, that he believes it is false, it is the best and only safe course to rest in that explication the apostles have made; because, if any of these apostolical deductions were not demonstrable, evidently to follow from that great article to which salvation is promised,—yet the authority of them who compiled the symbol, the plain description of the articles from the words of Scriptures, the evidence of reason, demonstrating these to be the whole foundation, are sufficient upon great grounds of reason to ascertain us: but if we go further, besides the easiness of being deceived, we relying upon our own discourses,—which though they may be true, and then bind us to follow them, but yet no more than when they only seem

truest,—yet they cannot make the thing certain to another, much less necessary in itself. And since God would not bind us, upon pain of sin and punishment, to make deductions ourselves, much less would he bind us to follow another man's logic as an article of our faith; I say, much less another man's, for our own integrity (for we will certainly be true to ourselves, and do our own business heartily) is as fit and proper to be employed as another man's ability: he cannot secure me that his ability is absolute and the greatest, but I can be more certain that my own purposes and fidelity to myself are such. And since it is necessary to rest somewhere, lest we should run to an infinity, it is best to rest there, where the apostles and the churches apostolical rested; when, not only they who are able to judge, but others who are not, are equally ascertained of the certainty and of the sufficiency of that explication.

12. This I say, not that I believe it unlawful or unsafe for the Church, or any of the 'antistites religionis,' or any wise man, to extend his own creed to any thing which may certainly follow from any one of the articles; but I say that no such deduction is fit to be pressed on others as an article of faith; and that every deduction which is so made, unless it be such a thing as is at first evident to all, is but sufficient to make a human faith; nor can it amount to a Divine, much less can be obligatory to bind a person of a differing persuasion to subscribe, under pain of losing his faith, or being a heretic. For it is a demonstration, that nothing can be necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation, but such propositions of which it is certain that God hath spoken and taught them to us, and of which it is certain that this is their sense and purpose; for if the sense be uncertain, we can no more be obliged to believe it in a certain sense, than we are to believe it at all, if it were not certain that God delivered it. But if it be only certain that God spake it, and not certain to what sense, our faith of it is to be as indeterminate as its sense; and it can be no other in the nature of the thing, nor is it consonant to God's justice to believe of him that he can or will require more. And this is of the nature of those propositions which Aristotle calls θέσεις, to which, without any further probation, all wise men will give assent at its first publication. And, therefore, deductions, inevident from the

evident and plain letter of faith, are as great recessions from the obligation, as they are from the simplicity and certainty of the article. And this I also affirm, although the Church of any one denomination, or represented in a council, shall make the deduction or declaration. For unless Christ had promised his Spirit to protect every particular Church from all errors less material, unless he had promised an absolute universal infallibility 'etiam in minutioribus,' unless superstructures be of the same necessity with the foundation, and that God's Spirit doth not only preserve his Church in the being of a Church, but in a certainty of not saying any thing that is less certain; and that too, whether they will or no, we may be bound to peace and obedience, to silence and to charity, but have not a new article of faith made; and a new proposition, though consequent (as it is said) from an article of faith, becomes not, therefore, a part of the faith, nor of absolute necessity. "Quid unquam aliud ecclesia conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur," said Vincentius Lirinensis:[r] whatsoever was of necessary belief, is so still, and hath a new decree, added by reason of a new light, or a clear explication; but no propositions can be adopted into the foundation. The Church hath power to intend our faith, but not to extend it; to make our belief more evident, but not more large and comprehensive. For Christ and his apostles concealed nothing that was necessary to the integrity of Christian faith, or salvation of our souls: Christ declared all the will of his Father, and the apostles were stewards and dispensers of the same mysteries, and were faithful in all the house, and therefore concealed nothing, but taught the whole doctrine of Christ: so they said themselves. And indeed, if they did not teach all the doctrine of faith, an angel or a man might have taught us other things than what they taught, without deserving an anathema, but not without deserving a blessing, for making up that faith entire which the apostles left imperfect. Now, if they taught all the whole body of faith, either the Church, in the following ages, lost part of the faith;—and then, where was their infallibility, and the effect of those glorious promises to which she

[r] Contra Hæres. c. xxxii.

pretends, and hath certain title? for she may as well introduce a falsehood as lose a truth, it being as much promised to her that the Holy Ghost shall lead her into all truth, as that she shall be preserved from all errors; as appears, John, xvi. 13: or, if she retained all the faith which Christ and his apostles consigned and taught, then no age can, by declaring any point, make that be an article of faith which was not so in all ages of Christianity before such declaration. And, indeed, if the Church,[s] by declaring an article can make that to be necessary, which before was not necessary, I do not see how it can stand with the charity of the Church so to do, especially after so long experience she hath had, that all men will not believe every such decision or explication; for, by so doing, she makes the narrow way to heaven narrower, and chalks out one path more to the devil than he had before, and yet the way was broad enough when it was at the narrowest. For, before, differing persons might be saved in diversity of persuasions; and now, after this declaration, if they cannot, there is no other alteration made, but that some shall be damned, who before, even in the same dispositions and belief, should have been beatified persons. For, therefore, it is well for the fathers of the Primitive Church that their errors were not discovered; for if they had been contested (for that would have been called discovery enough), "vel errores emendassent, vel ab ecclesiâ ejecti fuissent."[t] But it is better as it was; they went to heaven by that good fortune, whereas, otherwise, they might have gone to the devil. And yet there were some errors; particularly that of St. Cyprian, that was discovered; and he went to heaven, it is thought: possibly they might so too, for all this pretence. But suppose it true, yet, whether that declaration of an article, of which, with safety, we either might have doubted, or been ignorant, does more good than the damning of those many souls occasionally, but yet certainly and foreknowingly, does hurt, I leave it to all wise and good men to determine. And yet, besides this, it cannot enter into my thoughts, that it can possibly consist with God's

[s] Vide Jacob. Almain. in 3. Sent. d. 25. Q. Unic. Dub. 3. Patet ergo, quod nulla veritas est catholica ex approbatione ecclesiæ vel papæ. Gabr. Biel. in 3. Sent. Dist. 25. q. Unic. art. 3. Dub. 3. ad finem.

[t] Bellar. de Laicis, lib. iii. c. 20. sect. ad Primum Confirmationem.

goodness, to put it into the power of man so palpably and openly to alter the paths and inlets to heaven, and to straiten his mercies, unless he had furnished these men with an infallible judgment, and an infallible prudence, and a never-failing charity, that they should never do it but with great necessity, and with great truth, and without human ends and designs; of which, I think, no arguments can make us certain what the Primitive Church hath done in this case. I shall afterwards consider, and give an account of it; but, for the present, there is no insecurity in ending there where the apostles ended, in building where they built, in resting where they left us, unless the same infallibility which they had, had still continued, which, I think, I shall hereafter make evident it did not. And, therefore, those extensions of creed, which were made in the first ages of the Church, although, for the matter, they were most true, yet because it was not certain that they should be so, and they might have been otherwise; therefore, they could not be in the same order of faith, nor in the same degrees of necessity to be believed with the articles apostolical; and, therefore, whether they did well or no, in laying the same weight upon them, or whether they did lay the same weight or no, we will afterwards consider.

13. But to return. I consider that a foundation of faith cannot alter; unless a new building be to be made, the foundation is the same still; and this foundation is no other but that which Christ and his apostles laid, which doctrine is like himself, yesterday and to-day, and the same for ever. So that the articles of necessary belief to all (which are the only foundation), they cannot be several in several ages, and to several persons. Nay, the sentence and declaration of the Church cannot lay this foundation, or make any thing of the foundation, because the Church cannot lay her own foundation; we must suppose her to be a building, and that she relies upon the foundation, which is, therefore, supposed to be laid before, because she is built upon it; or, to make it more explicit, because a cloud may arise from the allegory of building and foundation, it is plainly thus: the Church being a company of men obliged to the duties of faith and obedience, the duty and obligation, being of the faculties of will and understanding to adhere to such an object, must pre-

suppose the object made ready for them; for as the object is before the act, in the order of nature, and, therefore, not to be produced or increased by the faculty, which, being receptive, cannot be active upon its proper object; so the object of the Church's faith is, in order of nature, before the Church, or before the act and habit of faith, and, therefore, cannot be enlarged by the Church, any more than the act of the visive faculty can add visibility to the object. So that if we have found out what foundation Christ and his apostles did lay, that is, what body and system of articles, simply necessary, they taught and required of us to believe, we need not, we cannot go any further for foundation, we cannot enlarge that system or collection. Now, then, although all that they said is true, and nothing of it to be doubted or disbelieved, yet, as all that they said is neither written nor delivered (because all was not necessary), so we know that of those things which are written, some things are as far off from the foundation as those things which were omitted; and, therefore, although now accidentally they must be believed by all that know them, yet it is not necessary all should know them; and that all should know them in the same sense and interpretation, is neither probable nor obligatory; but, therefore, since these things are to be distinguished by some differences of necessary and not necessary; whether or no, is not the declaration of Christ and his apostles, affixing salvation to the belief of some great comprehensive articles, and the act of the apostles rendering them as explicit as they thought convenient, and consigning that creed, made so explicit, as a tessera of a Christian, as a comprehension of the articles of his belief, as a sufficient disposition and an express of the faith of a 'catechumen,' in order to baptism: whether or no, I say, all this be not sufficient probation that these only are of absolute necessity, that this is sufficient for mere belief in order to heaven, and that, therefore, whosoever believes these articles heartily and explicitly, Θεὸς μένει ἐν αὐτῷ, as St. John's expression is, "God dwelleth in him." I leave it to be considered and judged of from the premises. Only this: if the old doctors had been made judges in these questions, they would have passed their affirmative; for, to instance in one for all, of this it was said by Tertullian,[u] "Regula quidem fidei una

[u] Lib. de Veland. Virg.

omnino est sola immobilis et irreformabilis," &c. "Hâc lege fidei manente, cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet, et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei;—This symbol is the one sufficient, immovable, unalterable, and unchangeable rule of faith, that admits no increment or decrement; but if the integrity and unity of this be preserved, in all other things men may take a liberty of enlarging their knowledges and prophesyings, according as they are assisted by the grace of God."

SECTION II.

Of Heresy, and the Nature of it; and that it is to be accounted according to the strict Capacity of Christian Faith, and not in Opinions speculative, nor ever to pious Persons.

1. And thus I have represented a short draught of the object of faith, and its foundation. The next consideration, in order to our main design, is to consider what was, and what ought to be, the judgment of the apostles concerning heresy: for, although there are more kinds of vices than there are of virtues, yet the number of them is to be taken by accounting the transgressions of their virtues, and by the limits of faith: we may also reckon the analogy and proportions of heresy, that as we have seen who were called faithful by the apostolical men, we may also perceive who were listed by them in the catalogue of heretics, that we, in our judgments, may proceed accordingly.

2. And, first, the word heresy is used in Scripture indifferently; in a good sense, for a sect or division of opinion, and men following it; or sometimes in a bad sense, for a false opinion, signally condemned: but these kind of people were then called Antichrists and false prophets, more frequently than heretics, and then there were many of them in the world. But it is observable that no heresies are noted 'signanter' in Scripture, but such as are great errors practical, 'in materiâ pietatis,' such whose doctrines taught impiety, or such who denied the coming of Christ directly or by consequence, not remote or withdrawn, but prime and immediate; and,

therefore, in the code "de Sanctâ Trinitate et Fide Catholica," heresy is called ἀσεβὴς δόξα, καὶ ἀθέμιτος διδασκαλία,—"a wicked opinion, and an ungodly doctrine."

3. The first false doctrine we find condemned by the apostles, was the opinion of Simon Magus, who thought the Holy Ghost was to be bought with money: he thought very dishonourably to the Blessed Spirit; but yet his followers are rather noted of a vice, neither resting in the understanding, nor derived from it, but wholly practical; it is simony, not heresy; though in Simon it was a false opinion, proceeding from a low account of God, and promoted by his own ends of pride and covetousness. The great heresy that troubled them was the doctrine of the necessity of keeping the law of Moses, the necessity of circumcision; against which doctrine they were therefore zealous, because it was a direct overthrow to the very end and excellence of Christ's coming. And this was an opinion most pertinacously and obstinately maintained by the Jews, and had made a sect among the Galatians: and this was, indeed, wholly in opinion; and against it the apostles opposed two articles of the creed, which served, at several times, according as the Jews changed their opinion, and left some degrees of their error; "I believe in Jesus Christ, and I believe the holy catholic Church:" for they, therefore, pressed the necessity of Moses's law, because they were unwilling to forego the glorious appellative of being God's own peculiar people; and that salvation was of the Jews, and that the rest of the world were capable of that grace no otherwise but by adoption into their religion, and becoming proselytes. But this was so ill a doctrine, as that it overthrew the great benefits of Christ's coming; for, "if they were circumcised, Christ profited them nothing:" meaning this, that Christ will not be a Saviour to them who do not acknowledge him for their Lawgiver; and they neither confess him their Lawgiver, nor their Saviour, that look to be justified by the law of Moses, and observation of legal rites: so that this doctrine was a direct enemy to the foundation, and, therefore, the apostles were so zealous against it. Now, then, that other opinion, which the apostles met at Jerusalem to resolve, was but a piece of that opinion: for the Jews and proselytes were drawn off from their lees and sediment by degrees, step by step. At first, they would not endure any

should be saved but themselves, and their proselytes. Being wrought off from this height by miracles, and preaching of the apostles, they admitted the Gentiles to a possibility of salvation, but yet so as to hope for it by Moses's law. From which foolery when they were, with much ado, persuaded, and told that salvation was by faith in Christ, not by works of the law, yet they resolved to plough with an ox and an ass still, and join Moses with Christ; not as shadow and substance, but in an equal confederation, Christ should save the Gentiles, if he was helped by Moses,—but, alone, Christianity could not do it. Against this the apostles assembled at Jerusalem, and made a decision of the question, tying some of the Gentiles (such only who were blended by the Jews 'in communi patria') to observation of such rites, which the Jews had derived, by tradition, from Noah, intending, by this, to satisfy the Jews, as far as might be, with a reasonable compliance and condescension; the other Gentiles who were unmixed, in the meanwhile, remaining free, as appears in the liberty St. Paul gave the Church of Corinth of eating idol sacrifices (expressly against the decree at Jerusalem), so it were without scandal. And yet, for all this care and curious discretion, a little of the leaven still remained: all this they thought did so concern the Gentiles, that it was totally impertinent to the Jews; still they had a distinction to satisfy the letter of the apostles' decree, and yet to persist in their old opinion; and this so continued, that fifteen Christian bishops in succession were circumcised, even until the destruction of Jerusalem, under Adrian, as Eusebius reports.[a]

4. First, by the way, let me observe, that never any matter of question in the Christian Church was determined with greater solemnity, or more full authority of the Church, than this question concerning circumcision: no less than the whole college of the apostles, and elders at Jerusalem, and that with a decree of the highest sanction, "Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis." Secondly, Either the case of the Hebrews, in particular, was omitted, and no determination concerning them, whether it were necessary or lawful for them to be circumcised, or else it was involved in the decree,

[a] Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 5.

and intended to oblige the Jews. If it was omitted since the question was 'de re necessariâ' (for "dico vobis,"—"I, Paul, say unto you, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing"), it is very remarkable how the apostles, to gain the Jews, and to comply with their violent prejudice in behalf of Moses's law, did, for a time, tolerate their dissent 'etiam in re alioquin necessariâ,' which, I doubt not, but was intended as a precedent for the Church to imitate for ever after: but if it was not omitted, either all the multitude of the Jews (which St. James, then their bishop, expressed by ποσαὶ μυριάδες. "Thou seest how many myriads of Jews that believe, and yet are zealots for the law:[b] and Eusebius,[c] speaking of Justus, says, he was one 'ex infinitâ multitudine eorum, qui ex circumcisione in Jesum credebant'), I say all these did perish, and their believing in Christ served them to no other ends, but, in the infinity of their torments, to upbraid them with hypocrisy and heresy; or if they were saved, it is apparent how merciful God was, and pitiful to human infirmities, that, in a point of so great concernment, did pity their weakness, and pardon their errors, and love their good mind; since their prejudice was little less than insuperable, and had fair probabilities, at least, and was such as might abuse a wise and good man (and so it did many), they did 'bono animo errare.' And, if I mistake not, this consideration St. Paul urged as a reason why God forgave him, who was a persecutor of the saints, because he did it "ignorantly in unbelief,"[d] that is, he was not convinced in his understanding of the truth of the way which he persecuted, he, in the meanwhile, remaining in that incredulity, not out of malice or ill ends, but the mistakes of humanity and a pious zeal; therefore "God had mercy on him:" and so it was in this great question of circumcision; here only was the difference, the invincibility of St. Paul's error, and the honesty of his heart, caused God so to pardon him, as to bring him to the knowledge of Christ, which God therefore did because it was necessary, 'necessitate medii;' no salvation was consistent with the actual remanency of that error; but in the question of circumcision, although they, by consequence, did overthrow the end of Christ's coming: yet,

[b] Acts, xxi. 20. [c] Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 32. [d] 1 Tim. i.

because it was such a consequence, which they, being hindered by a prejudice non-impious, did not perceive, God tolerated them in their error, till time, and a continual dropping of the lessons and dictates apostolical, did wear it out, and then the doctrine put on its apparel, and became clothed with necessity; they, in the meantime, so kept to the foundation, that is, Jesus Christ crucified and risen again, that although they did make a violent concussion of it, yet they held fast with their heart what they ignorantly destroyed with their tongue,—which Saul, before his conversion, did not,—that God, upon other titles than an actual derelictiom of their error, did bring them to salvation.

5. And in the descent of so many years, I find not any one anathema past, by the apostles or their successors, upon any of the bishops of Jerusalem, or the believers of the circumcision, and yet it was a point as clearly determined, and of as great necessity, as any of those questions that, at this day, vex and crucify Christendom.

6. Besides this question, and that of the resurrection, commenced in the Church of Corinth, and promoted, with some variety of sense, by Hymenæus and Philetus, in Asia, who said that the resurrection was past already, I do not remember any other heresy named in Scripture, but such as were errors of impiety, 'seductiones in materiâ practica;' such as was, particularly, forbidding to marry,—and the heresy of the Nicolaitans, a doctrine that taught the necessity of lust and frequent fornication.

7. But in all the animadversions against errors made by the apostles in the New Testament, no pious person was condemned, no man that did invincibly err, or 'bonâ mente;' but something that was amiss 'in genere morum,' was that which the apostles did redargue. And it is very considerable, that even they of the circumcision, who, in so great numbers, did heartily believe in Christ, and yet most violently retain circumcision, and, without question, went to heaven in great numbers;—yet, of the number of these very men, they came deeply under censure, when, to their error, they added impiety: so long as it stood with charity, and without human ends and secular interests, so long it was either innocent or connived at; but when they grew covetous, and for filthy lucre's sake, taught the same doctrine which others did in

the simplicity of their hearts, then they turned heretics, — then they were termed seducers; and Titus was commanded to look to them, and to silence them; "For there are many that are intractable and vain babblers, seducers of minds, especially they of the circumcision, who seduce whole houses, teaching things that they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake." These, indeed, were not to be endured; but to be silenced by the conviction of sound doctrine, and to be rebuked sharply, and avoided.

8. For heresy is not an error of the understanding, but an error of the will. And this is clearly insinuated in the Scripture, in the style whereof faith and a good life are made one duty, and vice is called opposite to faith, and heresy opposed to holiness and sanctity. So in St. Paul: "For," saith he, "the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned;" "à quibus quòd aberrârunt quidam, — from which charity, and purity, and goodness, and sincerity, because some have wandered," 'deflexerunt ad vaniloquium.'[e] And immediately after, he reckons the oppositions to faith and sound doctrine; and instances only in vices that stain the lives of Christians, "the unjust, the unclean, the uncharitable, the liar, the perjured person, 'et si quis alius qui sanæ doctrinæ adversatur;'" these are the enemies of the true doctrine. And, therefore, St. Peter, having given in charge 'to add to our virtue, patience, temperance, charity, and the like,' gives this for a reason, — for "if these things be in you, and abound, ye shall be fruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." So that knowledge and faith is, 'inter præcepta morum,' is part of a good life.[f] And St. Paul calls faith, or the form of sound words, κατ' εὐσεβείαν διδασκαλίαν, — 'the doctrine that is according to godliness.'[g] And 'veritati credere,' and 'in injustitiâ sibi complacere,' are, by the same apostle, opposed,[h] and intimate that piety and faith is all one thing; faith must be ὑγιὴς καὶ ἄμεμπτος, — 'entire and holy too,' or it is

[e] 1 Tim. i.

[f] Quid igitur credulitas vel fides? Opinor, fideliter hominem Christo credere, id est, fidelem Deo esse, hoc est, fideliter Dei mandata servare. So Salvian.

[g] 1 Tim. vi. 3.

[h] Εὐσεβὴς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκία. That is our religion, or faith, the whole manner of serving God. C. de Sanctâ Trinit. et Fide Cathol.

not right. It was the heresy of the Gnostics, that it was no matter how men lived, so they did but believe aright; which wicked doctrine Tatianus, a learned Christian, did so detest, that he fell into a quite contrary, 'Non est curandum quod quisque credat; id tantum curandum est, quod quisque faciat;' and thence came the sect Encratites: both these heresies sprang from the too nice distinguishing the faith from the piety and good life of a Christian: they are both but one duty. However they may be distinguished, if we speak like philosophers, they cannot be distinguished when we speak like Christians. For to believe what God hath commanded, is in order to a good life; and to live well is the product of that believing, and as proper emanation from it, as from its proper principle, and as heat is from the fire. And therefore, in Scripture, they are used promiscuously in sense, and in expression, as not only being subjected in the same person, but also in the same faculty; faith is as truly seated in the will as in the understanding, and a good life as merely derives from the understanding as the will. Both of them are matters of choice and of election,—neither of them an effect natural and invincible, or necessary antecedently; 'necessaria ut fiant, non necessariò facta.' And, indeed, if we remember that St. Paul reckons heresy amongst the works of the flesh, and ranks it with all manner of practical impieties, we shall easily perceive, that if a man mingles not a vice with his opinion, if he be innocent in his life, though deceived in his doctrine,—his error is his misery, not his crime; it makes him an argument of weakness, and an object of pity, but not a person sealed up to ruin and reprobation.

9. For as the nature of faith is, so is the nature of heresy, contraries having the same proportion and commensuration. Now faith, if it be taken for an act of the understanding merely, is so far from being that excellent grace that justifies us, that it is not good at all, in any kind but 'in genere naturæ,' and makes the understanding better in itself, or pleasing to God, just as strength doth the arm, or beauty the face, or health the body; these are natural perfections indeed, and so knowledge and a true belief is to the understanding. But this makes us not at all more acceptable to God; for then the unlearned were certainly in a damnable condition, and all good scholars should be saved; whereas,

I am afraid, too much of the contrary is true. But unless faith be made moral by the mixtures of the choice, and charity, it is nothing but a natural perfection, not a grace or a virtue; and this is demonstrably proved in this,—that by the confession of all men, of all interests and persuasions, in matters of mere belief, invincible ignorance is our excuse if we be deceived; which could not be, but that neither to believe aright is commendable, nor to believe amiss is reprovable; but where both one and the other is voluntary, and chosen antecedently or consequently, by prime election, or 'ex post facto,' and so comes to be considered in morality, and is part of a good life or a bad life respectively. Just so it is in heresy; if it be a design of ambition, and making of a sect (so Erasmus expounds St. Paul, *αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον*, —'sectarum autorem'[1]), if it be for filthy lucre's sake, as it was in some that were of the circumcision; if it be of pride and 'love of pre-eminence,' as it was in Diotrephes, *ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων*; or out of peevishness and indocibleness of disposition, or of a contentious spirit, that is, that their feet are not shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace;—in all these cases, the error is just so damnable, as is its principle; but, therefore, damnable not of itself, but by reason of its adherence. And if any shall say any otherwise, it is to say that some men shall be damned, when they cannot help it, perish without their own fault, and be miserable for ever, because of their unhappiness to be deceived, through their own simplicity, and natural or accidental, but inculpable infirmity.

10. For it cannot stand with the goodness of God, who does so know our infirmities, that he pardons many things in which our wills indeed have the least share (but some they have), but are overborne with the violence of an impetuous temptation; I say, it is inconsistent with his goodness to condemn those who err, where the error hath nothing of the will in it; who, therefore, cannot repent of their error, because they believe it is true; who, therefore, cannot make compensation, because they know not that they are tied to dereliction of it. And although all heretics are in this condition, that is, they believe their errors to be true; yet there

[1] Alieni sunt à veritate, qui se obarment multitudine.—*Chrys.*

is a vast difference between them who believe so out of simplicity, and them who are given over to believe a lie, as a punishment, or an effect of some other wickedness or impiety. For all have a concomitant assent to the truth of what they believe; and no man can, at the same time, believe what he does not believe; but this assent of the understanding in heretics is caused, not by force of argument, but the argument is made forcible by something that is amiss in his will; and although a heretic may, peradventure, have a stronger argument for his error, than some true believer for his right persuasion, yet it is not considerable how strong his argument is (because, in a weak understanding, a small motive will produce a great persuasion, like gentle physic in a weak body), but that which here is considerable, is, what it is that made his argument forcible. If his invincible and harmless prejudice, if his weakness, if his education, if his mistaking piety, if any thing that hath no venom nor a sting in it, there the heartiness of his persuasion is no sin, but his misery and his excuse: but if any thing that is evil 'in genere morum,' did incline his understanding; if his opinion did commence upon pride, or is nourished by covetousness, or continues through stupid carelessness, or increases by pertinacy, or is confirmed by obstinacy,—then the innocence of the error is disbanded, his misery is changed into a crime, and begins its own punishment. But, by the way, I must observe, that when I reckoned 'obstinacy' amongst those things, which make a false opinion criminal, it is to be understood with some discretion and distinction. For there is an obstinacy of will, which is, indeed, highly guilty of misdemeanour; and when the school makes pertinacy or obstinacy to be the formality of heresy, they say not true at all, unless it be meant the obstinacy of the will and choice; and if they do, they speak imperfectly and inarticifially, this being but one of the causes that makes error become heresy: the adequate and perfect formality of heresy is whatsoever makes the error voluntary and vicious, as is clear in Scripture, reckoning covetousness, and pride, and lust, and whatsoever is vicious, to be its causes:—and in habits, or moral changes and productions, whatever alters the essence of a habit, or gives it a new formality, is not to be reckoned the efficient, but the form:—but there is also an obstinacy you may call

it, but, indeed, it is nothing but a resolution and confirmation of understanding, which is not in a man's power honestly to alter, and it is not all the commands of humanity, that can be argument sufficient to make a man leave believing that, for which he thinks he hath reason, and for which he hath such arguments as heartily convince him. Now, the persisting in an opinion finally, and against all the confidence and imperiousness of human commands, that makes not this criminal obstinacy, if the erring person have so much humility of will as to submit to whatsoever God says, and that no vice in his will hinders him from believing it. So that we must carefully distinguish continuance in opinion from obstinacy, confidence of understanding from peevishness of affection, a not being convinced from a resolution never to be convinced, upon human ends and vicious principles: "Scimus quosdam, quod semel imbiberint, nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare; sed, salvo inter collegas pacis et concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; quâ in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus," saith St. Cyprian.[k] And he himself was such a one; for he persisted in his opinion of rebaptization, until death; and yet his obstinacy was not called criminal, or his error turned to heresy. But to return.

11. In this sense it is that a heretic is αὐτοκατάκριτος, —'self-condemned,' not by an immediate express sentence of understanding, but by his own act or fault, brought into condemnation. As it is in the canon law, 'Notorius percussor clerici' is 'ipso jure' excommunicate, not 'per sententiam latam ab homine,' but 'à jure.' No man hath passed sentence 'pro tribunali,' but law hath decreed it 'pro edicto:' so it is in the case of a heretic. The understanding, which is judge, condemns him not by an express sentence; for he errs with as much simplicity in the result, as he had malice in the principle: but there is 'sententia lata à jure;' his will, which is his law, that hath condemned him. And this is gathered from that saying of St. Paul, "But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived."[l] First, they are evil men; malice and peevishness is in their wills; then they turn heretics, and

[k] Epist. lib. ii. 1. [l] 2 Tim. iii. 13.

seduce others; and while they grow worse and worse, the error is master of their understanding, they are deceived themselves, 'given over to believe a lie,' saith the apostle: they first play the knave, and then play the fool; they first sell themselves to the purchase of vainglory or ill ends; and then they become possessed with a lying spirit, and believe those things heartily, which, if they were honest, they should, with God's grace, discover and disclaim. So that now we see that 'bona fides in falso articulo,—a hearty persuasion in a false article,' does not always make the error to be esteemed involuntary, but then only when it is as innocent in the principle, as it is confident in the present persuasion. And such persons, who, by their ill lives and vicious actions, or manifest designs (for 'by their fruits ye shall know them'), give testimony of such criminal indispositions, so as competent judges, by human and prudent estimate, may so judge them, then they are to be declared heretics, and avoided. And if this were not true, it were vain that the apostle commands us to avoid a heretic: for no external act can pass upon a man for a crime that is not cognoscible.

12. Now every man that errs, though in matter of consequence, so long as the foundation is entire, cannot be suspected justly guilty of a crime to give his error a formality of heresy; for we see many a good man miserably deceived, as we shall make it appear afterwards; and he that is the best amongst men, certainly hath so much humility to think he may be easily deceived, and, twenty to one, but he is in some things or other; yet, if his error be not voluntary, and part of an ill life, then, because he lives a good life, he is a good man, and, therefore, no heretic: no man is a heretic against his will. And if it be pretended that every man that is deceived is therefore proud, because he does not submit his understanding to the authority of God or man respectively, and so his error becomes a heresy; —to this I answer, that there is no Christian man but will submit his understanding to God, and believes whatsoever he hath said; but always, provided he knows that God hath said so, else he must do his duty by a readiness to obey when he shall know it. But for obedience or humility of the understanding towards men, that is a thing of another consideration, and it must first be made evident that his

understanding must be submitted to men; and who those are, must also be certain, before it will be adjudged a sin not to submit. But if I mistake not, Christ's saying, "Call no man master upon earth," is so great a prejudice against this pretence, as I doubt it will go near wholly to make it invalid. So that, as the worshipping of angels is a humility indeed, but it is voluntary and a will-worship to an ill sense, not to be excused by the excellence of humility, nor the virtue of religion: — so is the relying upon the judgment of man a humility too, but such as comes not under that ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, that 'obedience of faith,' which is the duty of every Christian; but intrenches upon that duty which we owe to Christ as an acknowledgment that he is our great Master, and the Prince of the catholic Church. But whether it be or be not, if that be the question, whether the disagreeing person be to be determined by the dictates of men, I am sure the dictates of men must not determine him in that question, but it must be settled by some higher principle: so that if of that question the disagreeing person does opine, or believe, or err, 'bonâ fide,' — he is not, therefore, to be judged a heretic, because he submits not his understanding; because, till it be sufficiently made certain to him, that he is bound to submit, he may innocently and piously disagree: and this not submitting is, therefore, not a crime, and so cannot make a heresy, because, without a crime, he may lawfully doubt whether he be bound to submit or no; — for that is the question. And if in such questions, which have influence upon a whole system of theology, a man may doubt lawfully, if he doubts heartily, because the authority of men being the thing in question, cannot be the judge of this question, and, therefore, being rejected, or, which is all one, being questioned, that is, not believed, cannot render the doubting person guilty of pride, and, by consequence, not of heresy; — much more may particular questions be doubted of, and the authority of men examined, and yet the doubting person be humble enough, and, therefore, no heretic for all this pretence. And it would be considered that humility is a duty in great ones as well as in idiots. And as inferiors must not disagree without reason, so neither must superiors subscribe to others without sufficient authority, evidence, and necessity too: and if rebellion be pride, so is tyranny; and it

being 'in materiâ intellectuali,' both may be guilty of pride of understanding,—sometimes the one in imposing, sometimes the other in a causeless disagreeing; but in the inferiors, it is then only the want of humility, when the guides impose or prescribe what God hath also taught; and then it is the disobeying God's dictates, not man's, that makes the sin. But then this consideration will also intervene: that as no dictate of God obliges men to believe it, unless I know it to be such; so neither will any of the dictates of my superiors engage my faith, unless I also know, or have no reason to disbelieve, but that they are warranted to teach them to me; therefore, because God hath taught the same to them, which if I once know, or have no reason to think the contrary, if I disagree, my sin is not in resisting human authority, but Divine. And, therefore, the whole business of submitting our understanding to human authority, comes to nothing; for either it resolves into the direct duty of submitting to God, or, if it be spoken of abstractedly, it is no duty at all.

13. But this pretence of a necessity of humbling the understanding, is none of the meanest arts whereby some persons have invaded, and have usurped a power over men's faith and consciences, and, therefore, we shall examine the pretence afterwards, and try if God hath invested any man, or company of men, with such a power. In the meantime, he that submits his understanding to all that he knows God hath said, and is ready to submit to all that he hath said, if he but know it, denying his own affections, and ends, and interests, and human persuasions, laying them all down at the foot of his great Master, Jesus Christ,—that man hath brought his understanding into subjection, and every proud thought unto the obedience of Christ, and this is ὑπακοὴ πίστεως,—'the obedience of faith,' which is the duty of a Christian.

14. But to proceed: Besides these heresies noted in Scripture, the age of the apostles, and that which followed, was infested with other heresies; but such as had the same formality and malignity with the precedent, all of them, either such as taught practical impieties, or denied an article of the creed. Hegesippus, in Eusebius, reckons seven only prime heresies, that sought to deflower the purity of the Church; that of Simon,—that of Thebutes,—of Cleobius,—of

Dositheus,—of Gortheus,—of Masbotheus; I suppose Cerinthus to have been the seventh man, though he express him not: but of these, except the last, we know no particulars; but that Hegesippus says, they were false Christs, and that their doctrine was directly against God and his blessed Son. Menander also was the first of a sect, but he bewitched the people with his sorceries. Cerinthus's doctrine pretended enthusiasm, or a new revelation, and ended in lust and impious theorems, in matter of uncleanness. The Ebionites[m] denied Christ to be the Son of God, and affirmed him ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, begot by natural generation (by occasion of which, and the importunity of the Asian bishops, St. John wrote his Gospel), and taught the observation of Moses's law. Basilides taught it lawful to renounce the faith, and take false oaths, in time of persecution. Carpocrates was a very bedlam, half-witch, and quite madman; and practised lust, which he called the secret operations to overcome the potentates of the world. Some more there were, but of the same nature and pest, not of a nicety in dispute, not a question of secret philosophy, not of atoms, and undiscernible propositions, but open defiances of all faith, of all sobriety, and of all sanctity, except only the doctrine of the millenaries, which, in the best ages, was esteemed no heresy, but true catholic doctrine, though since it hath justice done to it, and hath suffered a just condemnation.

15. Hitherto, and in these instances, the Church did esteem and judge of heresies, in proportion to the rules and characters of faith. For faith being a doctrine of piety as well as truth, that which was either destructive of fundamental verity, or of Christian sanctity, was against faith, and if it made a sect, was heresy; if not, it ended in personal impiety, and went no further. But those, who, as St. Paul says, 'not only did such things, but had pleasure in them that do them,' and, therefore, taught others to do what they impiously did dogmatize,—they were heretics, both in matter and form, in doctrine and deportment, towards God and towards man, and judicable in both tribunals.

16. But the Scripture and apostolical sermons, having expressed most high indignation against these masters of

[m] Vide Hilar. lib. i. de Trin.

impious sects, leaving them under prodigious characters, and horrid representments, as calling them 'men of corrupt minds,—reprobates concerning the faith,—given over to strong delusions to the belief of a lie,—false apostles,—false prophets,—men already condemned, and that by themselves, —antichrists,—enemies to God;'—and heresy itself, 'a work of the flesh, excluding from the kingdom of heaven;' left such impressions in the minds of all their successors, and so much zeal against such sects, that if any opinion commenced in the Church, not heard of before, it oftentimes had this ill luck to run the same fortune with an old heresy. For because the heretics did bring in new opinions in matters of great concernment, every opinion, 'de novo,' brought in, was liable to the same exception; and because the degree of malignity, in every error, was oftentimes undiscernible, and most commonly indemonstrable, their zeal was alike against all; and those ages, being full of piety, were fitted to be abused with an over active zeal, as wise persons and learned are, with a too much indifference.

17. But it came to pass, that the further the succession went from the apostles, the more forward men were in numbering heresies, and that upon slighter and more uncertain grounds. Some footsteps of this we shall find, if we consider the sects that are said to have sprung in the first three hundred years, and they were pretty and quick in their springs and falls; fourscore and seven of them are reckoned. They were indeed reckoned afterward; and though, when they were alive, they were not condemned with as much forwardness as after they were dead, yet even then, confidence began to mingle with opinions less necessary,—and mistakes in judgment were oftener, and more public, than they should have been. But if they were forward in their censures (as sometimes some of them were), it is no great wonder they were deceived. For what principle or κριτήριον had they then to judge of heresies, or condemn them, besides the single dictates or decretals of private bishops? for Scripture was indifferently pretended by all; and concerning the meaning of it, was the question: now there was no general council all that while, no opportunity for the Church to convene; and if we search the communicatory letters of the bishops and martyrs, in those days, we shall find but few sentences decretory,

concerning any question of faith, or new-sprung opinion. And in those that did, for aught appears, the persons were misreported, or their opinions mistaken, or at most, the sentence of condemnation was no more than this; such a bishop who hath had the good fortune, by posterity, to be reputed a catholic, did condemn such a man of such an opinion, and yet himself erred in as considerable matters; but, meeting with better neighbours in his lifetime, and a more charitable posterity, hath his memory preserved in honour. It appears plain enough, in the case of Nicholas, the deacon of Antioch, upon a mistake of his words, whereby he taught παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί,—'to abuse the flesh,' viz. by acts of austerity, and self-denial, and mortification; some wicked people that were glad to be mistaken and abused into a pleasing crime, pretended that he taught them to abuse the flesh by filthy commixtures and pollutions. This mistake was transmitted to posterity with a full cry, and acts afterwards found out, to justify an ill opinion of him. For by St. Jerome's time it grew out of question, but that he was the vilest of men, and the worst of heretics; 'Nicolaus, Antiochenus, omnium immunditiarum conditor choros duxit fœmineos.'[n] And again, 'Iste Nicolaus diaconus ita immundus exstitit, ut etiam in præsepi Domini nefas perpetrârit:[o] Accusations that, while the good man lived, were never thought of; for his daughters were virgins, and his sons lived in holy celibate all their lives, and himself lived in chaste wedlock; and yet his memory had rotted in perpetual infamy, had not God (in whose sight, the memory of the saints is precious) preserved it, by the testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus,[p] and, from him, of Eusebius and Nicephorus.[q] But in the catalogue of heretics, made by Philastrius, he stands marked with a black character, as guilty of many heresies: by which one testimony we may guess what trust is to be given to those catalogues. Well, this good man had ill luck to fall into unskilful hands, at first; but Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, to name no more, had better fortune; for it being still extant in their writings that they were of the milleuary opinion, Papius before, and Nepos after, were censured hardly, and the

[n] Ad Ctesiph.
[o] Epist. de Fabiano lapso.
[p] Lib. iv. Stromat.
[q] Lib. iii. c. 26. Hist.

opinion put into the catalogue of heresies; and yet these men were never suspected as guilty, but like the children of the captivity, walked in the midst of the flame, and not so much as the smell of fire passed on them. But the uncertainty of these things is very memorable, in the story of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, contesting with Eusebius Pamphilus: Eustathius accused Eusebius, for going about to corrupt the Nicene creed, 'of which slander he then acquitted himself,' saith Socrates;[r] and yet he is not cleared by posterity, for still he is suspected, and his fame not clear; however, Eusebius then scaped well, but to be quit with his adversary, he recriminates and accuses him to be a 'favourer of Sabellius, rather than of the Nicene canons;' an imperfect accusation, God knows, when the crime was a suspicion, provable only by actions capable of divers constructions, and at the most, made but some degrees of probability; and the fact itself did not consist in 'indivisibility,' and, therefore, was to stand or fall, to be improved or lessened, according to the will of the judges, whom, in this cause, Eustathius, by his ill fortune and a potent adversary, found harsh towards him, insomuch that he was, for heresy, deposed in the synod of Antioch; and though this was laid open in the eye of the world, as being most ready at hand, with the greatest ease charged upon every man, and, with greatest difficulty acquitted by any man; yet there were other suspicions raised upon him privately, or, at least, talked of 'ex post facto,' and pretended, as causes of his deprivation, lest the sentence should seem too hard for the first offence. And yet, what they were, no man could tell, saith the story. But it is observable what Socrates saith,[s] as an excuse for such proceedings, Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων εἰώθασι τῶν καθαιρουμένων ποιεῖν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, κατηγοροῦντες μὲν καὶ ἀσεβῆ λέγοντες, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐ λέγουσι·—"It is the manner among the bishops, when they accuse them that are deposed, they call them wicked, but they publish not the actions of their impiety." It might possibly be that the bishops did it in tenderness of their reputation, but yet hardly; for to punish a person publicly and highly, is a certain declaring the person punished guilty of a high crime, and then to conceal the fault, upon

[r] Lib. i. c. 23. [s] Lib. i. c. 24.

pretence to preserve his reputation, leaves every man at liberty to conjecture what he pleaseth; who possibly will believe it worse than it is, inasmuch as they think his judges so charitable as therefore to conceal the fault, lest the publishing of it should be his greatest punishment, and the scandal greater than his deprivation. However, this course,[t] if it were just in any, was unsafe in all; for it might undo more than it could preserve, and, therefore, is of more danger, than it can be of charity. It is, therefore, too probable that the matter was not very fair; for, in public sentences, the acts ought to be public, but that they rather pretend heresy to bring their ends about, shews how easy it is to impute that crime, and how forward they were to do it; and that they might, and did then, as easily call heretic as afterward, when Vigilius was condemned of heresy, for saying there were antipodes; or as the friars of late did, who suspected Greek and Hebrew of heresy, and called their professors heretics, and had like to have put Terence and Demosthenes into the 'Index Expurgatorius;' sure enough they railed at them 'pro concione,' therefore because they understood them not, and had reason to believe they would accidentally be enemies to their reputation among the people.

18. By this instance, which was a while after the Nicene Council, where the acts of the Church were regular, judicial, and orderly, we may guess at the sentences passed upon heresy, at such times and in such cases, when their process was more private, and their acts more tumultuary, their information less certain, and, therefore, their mistakes more easy and frequent. And it is remarkable, in the case of the heresy of Montanus, the scene of whose heresy lay within the first three hundred years, though it was represented in the catalogues afterwards, and possibly the mistake concerning it, is to be put upon the score of Epiphanius, by whom Montanus and his followers were put into the catalogue of heretics, for commanding abstinence from meats, as if they were unclean, and of themselves unlawful. Now the truth was, Montanus said no such thing; but commanded frequent abstinence, enjoined dry diet, and an ascetic table, not for conscience

[t] Simpliciter pateat vitium fortasse pusillum;
Quod tegitur, majus creditur esse malum.—*Mart.* iii. 42.

sake, but for discipline; and yet because he did this with too much rigour and strictness of mandate, the Primitive Church misliked it in him, as being too near their error, who, by a Judaical superstition, abstained from meats as from uncleanness. This, by the way, will much concern them who place too much sanctity in such rites and acts of discipline; for it is an eternal rule, and of never-failing truth, that such abstinences, if they be obtruded as acts of original immediate duty and sanctity, are unlawful and superstitious; if they be for discipline, they may be good, but of no great profit; it is that ἀφελία τοῦ σώματος, which, St. Paul says, profited but little; and just in the same degree, the Primitive Church esteemed them; for they therefore reprehended Montanus, for urging such abstinences with too much earnestness, though but in the way of discipline; for that it was no more, Tertullian, who was himself a Montanist, and knew best the opinions of his own sect, testifies; and yet Epiphanius, reporting the errors of Montanus, commends that which Montanus truly and really taught, and which the Primitive Church condemned in him; and, therefore, represents that heresy to another sense, and affixes that to Montanus which Epiphanius believed a heresy, and yet, which Montanus did not teach. And this also, among many other things, lessens my opinion very much of the integrity or discretion of the old catalogues of heretics, and much abates my confidence towards them.

19. And now that I have mentioned them casually, in passing by, I shall give a short account of them; for men are much mistaken; some in their opinions concerning the truth of them, as believing them to be all true; some concerning their purpose, as thinking them sufficient, not only to condemn all those opinions, there called heretical, but to be a precedent to all ages of the Church, to be free and forward in calling heretic. But he that considers the catalogues themselves, as they are collected by Epiphanius, Philastrius, and St. Austin, shall find that many are reckoned for heretics, for opinions in matters disputable, and undetermined, and of no consequence; and, in these catalogues of heretics, there are men numbered for heretics, which, by every side respectively, are acquitted: so that there is no company of men in the world that admit these catalogues as good records, or sufficient sentences of condemnation. For the Churches of

the Reformation, I am certain, they acquit Aerius, for denying prayer for the dead,—and the Eustathians, for denying invocation of saints. And I am partly of opinion, that the Church of Rome is not willing to call the Collyridians heretics, for offering a cake to the Virgin Mary, unless she also will run the hazard of the same sentence, for offering candles to her: and that they will be glad, with St. Austin, (lib. vi. "de Hæres." c. 86.) to excuse the Tertullianists[u] for picturing God in a visible corporeal representment. And yet these sects are put in the black book by Epiphanius, and St. Austin, and Isidore respectively. I remember also, that the Osseni are called heretics, because they refused to worship towards the east; and yet, in that dissent, I find not the malignity of a heresy, nor any thing against an article of faith or good manners; and it being only in circumstance, it were hard, if they were otherwise pious men and true believers, to send them to hell for such a trifle. The Parermeneutæ refused to follow other men's dictates like sheep, but would expound Scripture according to the best evidence themselves could find, and yet were called heretics, whether they expounded true or no. The Pauliciani,[x] for being offended at crosses,—the Proclians, for saying, in a regenerate man all his sins were not quite dead, but only curbed and assuaged,—were called heretics, and so condemned, for aught I know, for affirming that which all pious men feel, in themselves, to be too true. And he that will consider how numerous the catalogues are, and to what a volume they are come in their last collections, to no less than five hundred and twenty (for so many heresies and heretics are reckoned by Prateolus), may think, that if a retrenchment were justly made of truths, and all impertinencies, and all opinions, either still disputable, or less considerable, the number would much decrease; and, therefore, that the catalogues are much amiss, and the name heretic is made a 'terriculamentum' to affright people from their belief, or to discountenance the persons of men, and disrepute them, that their schools may be empty, and their disciples few.

20. So that I shall not need to instance how that some men

[u] D. Thom. lib. contra Gent. c. 21.

[x] Euthym. part. i. tit. 21. Epiph. Hæres. 64.

were called heretics by Philastrius, for rejecting the translation of the Seventy, and following the Bible of Aquila, wherein the great faults mentioned by Philastrius, are that he translates Χριστὸν Θεοῦ, not 'Christum,' but 'unctum Dei,' and instead of 'Emanuel' writes 'Deus nobiscum.' But this most concerns them of the Primitive Church, with whom the translation of Aquila was in great reputation, "is enim veluti plus à quibusdam — intellexisse laudatur;—It was supposed he was a great clerk, and understood more than ordinary;" it may be he did. But whether yea or no, yet, since the other translators, by the confession of Philastrius, "quædam prætermisisse necessitate urgente cogerentur," if some wise men, or unwise, did follow a translation who understood the original well (for so Aquila had learnt amongst the Jews), it was hard to call men heretics for following his translation, especially since the other bibles (which were thought to have in them contradictories, and, it was confessed, had omitted some things) were excused by necessity,—and the others' necessity of following Aquila, when they had no better, was not at all considered, nor a less crime than heresy laid upon their score.[y] Such another was the heresy of the Quartodecimani; for the Easterlings were all proclaimed heretics, for keeping Easter after the manner of the East; and as Socrates and Nicephorus report, the bishop of Rome was very forward to excommunicate all the bishops of the Lesser Asia, for observing the feast according to the tradition of their ancestors, though they did it modestly, quietly, and without faction; and although they pretended, and were as well able to prove their tradition from St. John, of so observing it, as the western Church could prove the tradition derivative from St. Peter and St. Paul. If such things as these make up the catalogues of heretics (as we see they did), their accounts differ from the precedents they ought to have followed,—that is, the censures apostolical,—and, therefore, are unsafe precedents for us; and unless they took the liberty of using the word heresy in a lower sense than the world now doth, since the councils have been forward in pronouncing anathema, and took it only for a distinct sense, and a differing

[y] Philast. 99. eos inter hæreticos numerat, qui 'spiraculum vitæ' in libro Genes. interpretantur 'animam rationalem,' et non potiùs 'gratiam Spiritûs Sancti.'

persuasion in matters of opinion and minute articles, we cannot excuse the persons of the men: but if they intended the crime of heresy against those opinions, as they laid them down in their catalogues, that crime, I say, which is a work of the flesh, which excludes from the kingdom of heaven, all that I shall say against them, is, that the causeless curse shall return empty; and no man is damned the sooner, because his enemy cries ὦ καταράτε, and they that were the judges and accusers, might err as well as the persons accused, and might need as charitable construction of their opinions and practices as the other. And of this we are sure, they had no warrant from any rule of Scripture, or practice apostolical, for driving so furiously and hastily, in such decretory sentences. But I am willing rather to believe their sense of the word 'heresy' was more gentle than with us it is; and for that they might have warrant from Scripture.

21. But by the way, I observe, that although these catalogues are a great instance to shew that they whose age and spirits were far distant from the apostles, had also other judgments concerning faith and heresy than the apostles had, and the ages apostolical; yet these catalogues, although they are reports of heresies in the second and third ages, are not to be put upon the account of those ages, not to be reckoned as an instance of their judgment, which, although it was, in some degrees, more culpable than that of their predecessors, yet, in respect of the following ages, it was innocent and modest. But these catalogues I speak of, were set down according to the sense of the then present ages, in which as they, in all probability, did differ from the apprehensions of the former centuries, so it is certain, there were differing learnings, other fancies, divers representments and judgments of men depending upon circumstances, which the first ages knew, and the following ages did not; and, therefore, the catalogues were drawn with some truth, but less certainty, as appears in their differing about the authors of some heresies; several opinions imputed to the same, and some put in the roll of heretics by one, which the other left out; which, to me, is an argument, that the collectors were determined, not by the sense and sentence of the three first ages, but by themselves, and some circumstances about them, which to reckon for heretics, which not. And that they

themselves were the prime judges, or perhaps some in their own age, together with them; but there was not any sufficient external judicatory competent to declare heresy, that, by any public or sufficient sentence or acts of court, had furnished them with warrant for their catalogues. And, therefore, they are no argument sufficient, that the first ages of the Church, which certainly were the best, did much recede from that which I shewed to be the sense of the Scripture, and the practice of the apostles: they all contented themselves with the apostles' creed, as the rule of the faith; and, therefore, were not forward to judge of heresy, but by analogy to their rule of faith. And those catalogues, made after these ages, are not sufficient arguments that they did otherwise; but rather of the weakness of some persons, or of the spirit and genius of the age in which the compilers lived; in which the device of calling all differing opinions by the name of heresies, might grow to be a design to serve ends, and to promote interests, as often as an act of zeal and just indignation against evil persons, destroyers of the faith, and corrupters of manners.

22. For whatever private men's opinions were, yet, till the Nicene Council, the rule of faith was entire in the apostles' creed; and provided they retained that, they easily broke not the unity of faith, however differing opinions might possibly commence in such things, in which a liberty were better suffered, than prohibited with a breach of charity. And this appears exactly in the question between St. Cyprian, of Carthage, and Stephen, bishop of Rome; in which one instance it is easy to see what was lawful and safe for a wise and good man; and yet how others began, even then, to be abused by that temptation, which since hath invaded all Christendom. St. Cyprian rebaptized heretics, and thought he was bound so to do; calls a synod in Africa, as being metropolitan, and confirms his opinion by the consent of his suffragans and brethren, but still with so much modesty, that if any man was of another opinion, he judged him not, but gave him that liberty that he desired himself. Stephen, bishop of Rome, grows angry, excommunicates the bishops of Asia and Africa, that in divers synods had consented to rebaptization,—and without peace, and without charity, condemns them for heretics. Indeed, here was the rarest

mixture and conjunction of unlikelihoods that I have observed. Here was error of opinion, with such modesty and sweetness of temper, on one side; and on the other, an over active and impetuous zeal to attest a truth. It uses not to be so; for error usually is supported with confidence, and truth suppressed and discountenanced by indifference. But that it might appear that the error was not the sin, but the uncharitableness, Stephen was accounted a zealous and furious person; and St. Cyprian, though deceived, yet a very good man, and of great sanctity.[s] For although every error is to be opposed, yet, according to the variety of errors, so is there variety of proceedings. If it be against faith, that is, a destruction of any part of the foundation, it is with zeal to be resisted; and we have for it an apostolical warrant, 'contend earnestly for the faith:' but then, as these things recede further from the foundation, our certainty is the less, and their necessity not so much; and, therefore, it was very fit that our confidence should be according to our evidence, and our zeal according to our confidence, and our confidence should then be the rule of our communion, and the lightness of an article should be considered with the weight of a precept of charity. And, therefore, there are some errors to be reproved, rather by a private friend than a public censure, and the persons of the men not avoided, but admonished; and their doctrine rejected, not their communion. Few opinions are of that malignity which are to be rejected with the same exterminating spirit, and confidence of aversation, with which the first teachers of Christianity condemned Ebion, Manes, and Cerinthus; and in the condemnation of heretics, the personal iniquity is more considerable than the obliquity of the doctrine, not for the rejection of the article, but for censuring the persons; and, therefore, it is the piety of the man that excused St. Cyprian; which is a certain argument, that it is not the opinion, but the impiety, that condemns and makes the heretic. And this was it which Vincentius Lirinensis said, in this very case of St. Cyprian: "Unius et ejusdem opinionis (mirum videri potest) judicamus autores catholicos, et sequaces hæreticos. Excusamus magistros, et condemnamus scholasticos. Qui scripserunt libros sunt

[s] Vide S. Aug. lib. ii. c. 6. de Bapt. contra Donat.

hæredes cœli, quorum librorum defensores detruduntur ad infernum."[a] Which saying, if we confront against the saying of Salvian, condemning the first authors of the Arian sect, and acquitting the followers,—we are taught by these two wise men, that an error is not it that sends a man to hell; but he that begins the heresy, and is the author of the sect, he is the man marked out to ruin; and his followers escaped, when the heresiarch commenced the error upon pride and ambition, and his followers went after him in simplicity of their heart. And so it was most commonly: but, on the contrary, when the first man in the opinion was honestly and invincibly deceived, as St. Cyprian was, and that his scholars, to maintain their credit or their ends, maintained the opinion, not for the excellence of the reason persuading, but for the benefit and accruements, or peevishness, as did the Donatists, 'qui de Cypriani autoritate sibi carnaliter blandiuntur,' as St. Austin said of them; then the scholars are the heretics, and the master is a catholic; for his error is not the heresy formally, and an erring person may be a catholic. A wicked person, in his error, becomes heretic, when the good man, in the same error, shall have all the rewards of faith. For whatever an ill man believes, if he therefore believe it, because it serves his own ends, be his belief true or false, the man hath a heretical mind, for, to serve his own ends, his mind is prepared to believe a lie. But a good man that believes what, according to his light, and upon the use of his moral industry, he thinks true, whether he hits upon the right or no, because he hath a mind desirous of truth, and prepared to believe every truth, is therefore acceptable to God, because nothing hindered him from it, but what he could not help, his misery and his weakness, which being imperfections merely natural, which God never punishes, he stands fair for a blessing of his morality, which God always accepts. So that now, if Stephen had followed the example of God Almighty, or retained but the same peaceable spirit which his brother of Carthage did, he might, with more advantage to truth, and reputation both of wisdom and piety, have done his duty in attesting what he believed to be true; for we are as much bound to be zealous pursuers

[a] Adv. Hæres. c. xi.

of peace, as earnest contenders for the faith. I am sure, more earnest we ought to be for the peace of the Church, than for an article which is not of the faith, as this question of rebaptization was not; for St. Cyprian died in belief against it, and yet was a catholic, and a martyr for the Christian faith.

23. The sum is this: St. Cyprian did right in a wrong cause, as it hath been since judged; and Stephen did ill in a good cause. As far, then, as piety and charity is to be preferred before a true opinion, so far is St. Cyprian's practice a better precedent for us, and an example of primitive sanctity, than the zeal and indiscretion of Stephen. St. Cyprian had not learned to forbid to any one a liberty of prophesying or interpretation, if he transgressed not the foundation of faith, and the creed of the apostles.

24. Well, thus it was, and thus it ought to be, in the first ages: the faith of Christendom rested still upon the same foundation, and the judgments of heresies were accordingly, or were amiss. But the first great violation of this truth was, when general councils came in, and the symbols were enlarged, and new articles were made as much of necessity to be believed as the creed of the apostles, and damnation threatened to them that did dissent; and at last the creeds multiplied in number and in articles, and the liberty of prophesying began to be something restrained.

25. And this was of so much the more force and efficacy, because it began upon great reason, and, in the first instance, with success good enough. For I am much pleased with the enlarging of the creed, which the Council of Nice made, because they enlarged it to my sense: but I am not sure that others are satisfied with it. While we look upon the articles they did determine, we see all things well enough; but there are some wise personages who consider it in all circumstances, and think the Church had been more happy, if she had not been, in some sense, constrained to alter the simplicity of her faith, and make it more curious and articulate, so much that he had need be a subtle man to understand the very words of the new determinations.

26. For the first Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in the presence of his clergy, entreats[b] somewhat more curiously

[b] Socrat. lib. i. c. 8.

of the secret of the mysterious Trinity and Unity; so curiously that Arius (who was a sophister too subtle, as it afterwards appeared) misunderstood him, and thought he intended to bring in the heresy of Sabellius. For while he taught the unity of the Trinity, either he did it so inartificially, or so intricately, that Arius thought he did not distinguish the persons, when the bishop intended only the unity of nature. Against this Arius furiously drives; and, to confute Sabellius, and in him (as he thought) the bishop, distinguishes the natures too, and so, to secure the article of the Trinity, destroys the unity. It was the first time the question was disputed in the world, and in such mysterious niceties, possibly every wise man may understand something, but few can understand all, and, therefore, suspect what they understand not, and are furiously zealous for that part of it which they do perceive. Well, it happened in these as always in such cases, in things men understand not they are most impetuous; and because suspicion is a thing infinite in degrees, for it hath nothing to determine it, a suspicious person is ever most violent; for his fears are worse than the thing feared, because the thing is limited, but his fears are not; so that upon this grew contentions on both sides, and tumultuous railing and reviling each other; and then the laity were drawn into parts, and the Meletians abetted the wrong part; and the right part, fearing to be overborne, did any thing that was next at hand to secure itself.[c] Now, then, they that lived in that age, that understood the men, that saw how quiet the Church was before this stir, how miserably rent now, what little benefit from the question, what schism about it, gave other censures of the business than we since have done, who only look upon the article determined with truth and approbation of the Church generally, since that time. But the epistle[d] of Constantine to Alexander and Arius, tells the truth, and chides them both for commencing the question, Alexander for broaching it, Arius for taking it up. And although this be true, that it had been better for the Church it never had begun, yet being begun, what is to be done in it? Of this also, in that admirable epistle, we have the emperor's judgment (I suppose not

[c] Lib. i. c. 6. [d] Cap. vii.

without the advice and privity of Hosius, bishop of Corduba, whom the emperor loved and trusted much, and employed in the delivery of the letters): for, first, he calls it "a certain vain piece of a question, ill begun, and more unadvisedly published; a question which no law or ecclesiastical canon defineth; a fruitless contention, the product of idle brains; a matter so nice, so obscure, so intricate, that it was neither to be explicated by the clergy, nor understood by the people; a dispute of words, a doctrine inexplicable, but most dangerous when taught, lest it introduce discord or blasphemy; and, therefore, the objector was rash, and the answerer unadvised; for it concerned not the substance of faith, or the worship of God, nor any chief commandment of Scripture; and, therefore, why should it be the matter of discord? for though the matter be grave, yet, because neither necessary nor explicable, the contention is trifling and toyish. And, therefore, as the philosophers of the same sect, though differing in explication of an opinion, yet more love the unity of their profession, than disagree for the difference of opinion; so should Christians, believing in the same God, retaining the same faith, having the same hopes, opposed by the same enemies, not fall at variance upon such disputes, considering our understandings are not all alike, and, therefore, neither can our opinions in such mysterious articles. So that the matter being of no great importance, but vain, and a toy in respect of the excellent blessings of peace and charity, it were good that Alexander and Arius should leave contending, keep their opinions to themselves, ask each other forgiveness, and give mutual toleration." This is the substance of Constantine's letter; and it contains in it much reason, if he did not undervalue the question; but it seems it was not then thought a question of faith, but of nicety of dispute; they both did believe one God, and the Holy Trinity. Now, then, that he afterwards called the Nicene Council, it was upon occasion of the vileness of the men of the Arian part, their eternal discord and pertinacious wrangling, and to bring peace into the Church: that was the necessity, and in order to it was the determination of the article. But, for the article itself, the letter declares what opinion he had of that; and this letter was by Socrates called "a wonderful exhortation, full of grave and sober counsels," and such as

Hosius himself, who was the messenger, pressed with all earnestness, with all the skill and authority he had.

27. I know the opinion the world had of the article afterwards, is quite differing from this censure given of it before; and therefore, they have put it into the creed, I suppose, to bring the world to unity, and to prevent sedition in this question, and the accidental blasphemies which were occasioned by their curious talkings of such secret mysteries, and by their illiterate resolutions. But, although the article was determined with an excellent spirit, and we all, with much reason, profess to believe it, yet it is another consideration, whether or no it might not have been better determined, if with more simplicity: and another yet, whether or no, since many of the bishops who did believe this thing, yet did not like the nicety and curiosity of expressing it, it had not been more agreeable to the practice of the apostles, to have made a determination of the article by way of exposition of the apostles' creed, and to have left this in a rescript, for record to all posterity, and not to have enlarged the creed with it; for since it was an explication of an article of the creed of the apostles, as sermons are of places of Scripture, it was thought by some that Scripture might, with good profit and great truth, be expounded, and yet the expositions not put into the canon, or go for Scripture, but that left still in the naked original simplicity; and so much the rather, since that explication was further from the foundation: and, though most certainly true, yet not penned by so infallible a spirit as was that of the apostles, and, therefore, not with so much evidence as certainty. And if they had pleased, they might have made use of an admirable precedent, to this and many other great and good purposes, no less than of the blessed apostles, whose symbol they might have imitated, with as much simplicity as they did the expressions of Scripture, when they first composed it. For it is most considerable, that although, in reason, every clause in the creed should be clear, and so inopportune and unapt to variety of interpretation, that there might be no place left for several senses, or variety of expositions: yet, when they thought fit to insert some mysteries into the creed, which, in Scripture, were expressed in so mysterious words, that the last and most explicit sense would still be latent; yet, they who (if ever any

did) understood all the senses and secrets of it, thought it not fit to use any words but the words of Scripture, particularly in the articles of 'Christ's descending into hell,' and 'sitting at the right hand of God,' to shew us, that those creeds are best which keep the very words of Scripture; and that faith is best which hath greatest simplicity; and that it is better, in all cases, humbly to submit, than curiously to inquire, and pry into the mystery under the cloud; and to hazard our faith, by improving our knowledge. If the Nicene fathers had done so too, possibly the Church would never have repented it.

28. And, indeed, the experience the Church had afterwards, shewed that the bishops and priests were not satisfied in all circumstances, nor the schism appeased, nor the persons agreed, nor the canons accepted, nor the article understood, nor any thing right, but when they were overborne with authority; which authority, when the scales turned, did the same service and promotion to the contrary.

29. But it is considerable, that it was not the article, or the thing itself, that troubled the disagreeing persons, but the manner of representing it. For the five dissenters, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Theonas, and Secundus, believed Christ to be the very God of very God; but the clause of ὁμοούσιος they derided, as being persuaded by their logic, that he was neither 'of the substance of the Father,' by division, as a piece of a lump; nor derivation, as children from their parents; nor by production, as buds from trees; and nobody could tell them any other way at that time, and that made the fire to burn still. And that was it I said: if the article had been with more simplicity, and less nicety, determined, charity would have gained more, and faith would have lost nothing. And we shall find the wisest of them all, for so Eusebius Pamphilus[e] was esteemed, published a creed or confession in the synod; and though he, and all the rest, believed that great mystery of godliness, 'God manifested in the flesh,' yet he was not fully satisfied, nor so soon, of the clause of 'one substance,' till he had done a little violence to his own understanding; for even when he had subscribed to the clause of 'one substance,' he does it with a

[e] Vide Sozomen. lib. ii. c. 18.

protestation, that 'heretofore he never had been acquainted, nor accustomed himself to such speeches.' And the sense of the word[f] was either so ambiguous, or their meaning so uncertain, that Andreus Fricius does, with some probability, dispute that the Nicene fathers, by ὁμοούσιος, did mean 'Patris similitudinem, non essentiæ unitatem.'[g] And it was so well understood by personages disinterested, that when Arius and Euzoius had confessed Christ to be 'Deus verbum,' without inserting the clause of 'one substance,' the emperor, by his letter, approved of his faith, and restored him to his country and office, and the communion of the Church. And a long time after, although the article was believed with nicety enough,[h] yet, when they added more words still to the mystery, and brought in the word ὑπόστασις, saying there were three 'hypostases' in the Holy Trinity; it was so long before it could be understood, that it was believed therefore, because they would not oppose their superiors, or disturb the peace of the Church, in things which they thought could not be understood: insomuch, that St. Jerome wrote to Damascus in these words: "Decerne, si placet, obsecro, non timebo tres hypostases dicere, si jubetis:" and again, "Obtestor beatitudinem tuam per Crucifixum, mundi salutem, per ὁμοούσιον Trinitatem, ut mihi epistolis tuis, sive tacendarum, sive dicendarum hypostaseôn detur autoritas."

30. But, without all question, the fathers determined the question with much truth; though I cannot say the arguments, upon which they built their decrees, were so good, as the conclusion itself was certain. But that which in this case is considerable, is, whether or no they did well in putting a curse to the foot of their decree, and the decree itself into the symbol, as if it had been of the same necessity? For the curse, Eusebius Pamphilus could hardly find in his heart to subscribe,—at last he did, but with this clause,—that he subscribed it, because the former curse did only 'forbid men to acquaint themselves with foreign speeches, and unwritten languages,' whereby confusion and discord are brought into the Church. So that it was not so much a

[f] Socrates, lib. i. c. 26.

[g] Sylv. iv. c. 1.

[h] Non imprudenter dixit, qui curiosæ explicationi hujus mysterii dictum Aristonis philosophi applicuit. Helleborus niger, si crassiùs sumatur, purgat et sanat: quum autem teritur et comminuitur, suffocat.

magisterial high assertion of the article, as an endeavour to secure the peace of the Church. And to the same purpose, for aught I know, the fathers composed a form of confession, not as a prescript rule of faith to build the hopes of our salvation on, but as a 'tessera' of that communion, which, by public authority, was therefore established upon those articles, because the articles were true, though not of prime necessity; and because that unity of confession was judged, as things then stood, the best preserver of the unity of minds.

31. But I shall observe this, that although the Nicene fathers, in that case, at that time, and in that conjuncture of circumstances, did well (and yet their approbation is made, by after ages, 'ex post facto'): yet if this precedent had been followed by all councils (and certainly they had equal power, if they thought it equally reasonable), and that they had put all their decrees into the creed, as some have done since, to what a volume had the creed by this time swelled: and all the house had run into foundation, nothing left for superstructures. But that they did not, it appears, 1. That since they thought all their decress true, yet they did not think them all necessary, at least not in that degree, and that they published such decrees, they did it 'declarando,' not 'imperando,' as doctors in their chairs, not masters of other men's faith and consciences. 2. And yet there is some more modesty, or wariness, or necessity (what shall I call it?) than this comes to: for why are not all controversies determined? But even when general assemblies of prelates have been, some controversies, that have been very vexatious, have been pretermitted, and others of less consequence, have been determined. Why did never any general council condemn, in express sentence, the Pelagian heresy, that great pest, that subtle infection of Christendom? and yet divers general councils did assemble, while the heresy was in the world. Both these cases, in several degrees, leave men in their liberty of believing and prophesying. The latter proclaims, that all controversies cannot be determined to sufficient purposes; and the first declares, that those that are, are not all of them matters of faith; and themselves are not so secure, but they may be deceived; and, therefore, possibly, it were better it were let alone; for if the latter leaves them divided in their opinions, yet their communions, and, therefore, probably,

their charities are not divided; but the former divides their communions, and hinders their interest;—and yet for aught is certain, the accused person is the better catholic. And yet, after all this, it is not safety enough to say, 'Let the council or prelates determine articles warily, seldom, with great caution, and with much sweetness and modesty.' For though this be better than to do it rashly, frequently, and furiously; yet, if we once transgress the bounds set us by the apostles in their creed, and not only preach other truths, but determine them 'pro tribunali' as well as 'pro cathedra,' although there be no error in the subject matter, as in Nice there was none; yet, if the next ages say they will determine another article with as much care and caution, and pretend as great a necessity, there is no hindering them, but by giving reasons against it; and so like enough they might have done against the decreeing the article at Nice: yet that this is not sufficient; for since the authority of the Nicene Council hath grown to the height of a mountainous prejudice against him that would say it was ill done, the same reason and the same necessity may be pretended by any age, and in any council; and they think themselves warranted by the great precedent at Nice, to proceed as peremptorily as they did; but then if any other assembly of learned men may possibly be deceived, were it not better they should spare the labour, than that they should, with so great pomp and solemnities, engage men's persuasions, and determine an article which after-ages must rescind; for, therefore, most certainly, in their own age, the point, with safety of faith and salvation, might have been disputed and disbelieved: and that many men's faiths have been tied up by acts and decrees of councils for those articles, in which the next age did see a liberty had better been preserved, because an error was determined,—we shall afterwards receive a more certain account.

32. And, therefore, the Council of Nice did well, and Constantinople did well, so did Ephesus and Chalcedon; but it is because the articles were truly determined (for that is part of my belief); but who is sure it should be so, beforehand? and whether the points, there determined, were necessary or no to be believed or to be determined, if peace had been concerned in it through the faction and division of the parties, I suppose the judgment of Constantine the emperor,

and the famous Hosius, of Corduba, is sufficient to instruct us, whose authority I rather urge than reasons, because it is a prejudice, and not a reason I am to contend against it.

33. So that such determinations and publishing of confessions with authority of prince and bishop, are sometimes of very good use for the peace of the Church; and they are good also to determine the judgment of indifferent persons, whose reasons, of either side, are not too great to weigh down the probability of that authority: but for persons of confident and imperious understandings, they on whose side the determination is, are armed with a prejudice against the other, and with a weapon to affront them, but with no more to convince them; and they against whom the decision is, do the more readily betake themselves to the defensive, and are engaged upon contestation and public enmities, for such articles, which either might safely have been unknown, or with much charity disputed. Therefore, the Nicene Council, although it have the advantage of an acquired and prescribing authority, yet it must not become a precedent to others: lest the inconveniences of multiplying more articles, upon a great pretence of reason as then, make the act of the Nicene fathers in straitening prophesying, and enlarging the creed, become accidentally an inconvenience. The first restraint, although it had been complained of, might possibly have been better considered of; yet the inconvenience is not visible, till it comes by way of precedent to usher in more. It is like an arbitrary power, which, although by the same reason it take sixpence from the subject, it may take a hundred pounds, and then a thousand, and then all, yet so long as it is within the first bounds, the inconvenience is not so great; but when it comes to be a precedent or argument for more, then the first may justly be complained of, as having in it that reason in the principle, which brought the inconvenience in the sequel; and we have seen very ill consequences from innocent beginnings.

34. And the inconveniences which might possibly arise from this precedent, those wise personages also did foresee; and, therefore, although they took liberty in Nice, to add some articles, or at least more explicitly to declare the first creed, yet they then would have all the world to rest upon that, and go no further, as believing that to be sufficient.

St. Athanasius declares their opinion, 'Η γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, παρὰ τῶν πατέρων κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς, ὁμολογηθεῖσα πίστις, αὐτάρκης ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μὲν πάσης ἀσεβείας, σύστασιν δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως·[1]—"That faith which the fathers there confessed, was sufficient for the refutation of all impiety, and the establishment of all faith in Christ and true religion." And, therefore, there was a famous epistle written by Zeno the emperor,[k] called the Ἑνωτικὸν, or the 'epistle of reconciliation,' in which all disagreeing interests are entreated to agree in the Nicene symbol, and a promise made upon that condition to communicate with all other sects,—adding withal, that the Church should never receive any other symbol, than that which was composed by the Nicene fathers. And, however Honorius was condemned for a monothelite; yet, in one of the epistles which the sixth synod alleged against him, viz. the second, he gave them counsel that would have done the Church as much service as the determination of the article did; for he advised them not to be curious in their disputings, nor dogmatical in their determinations about that question; and because the Church was not used to dispute in that question, it were better to preserve the simplicity of faith, than to ensnare men's consciences by a new article. And when the Emperor Constantius was, by his faction, engaged in a contrary practice, the inconvenience and unreasonableness was so great, that a prudent heathen observed and noted it in this character of Constantius: "Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem *anili superstitione* confudit. In quâ scrutandâ perplexiùs quàm in componendâ gratiùs, excitavit dissidia, quæ progressa fusiùs, aluit concertatione verborum, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium."

35. And yet men are more led by example, than either by reason or by precept; for in the Council of Constantinople, one article 'de novo et integro' was added, viz. "I believe one baptism for the remission of sins;" and then again they were so confident that that confession of faith was so absolutely entire, and that no man ever after should need to add any thing to the integrity of faith, that the fathers of the Council of Ephesus pronounced anathema to

[1] Epist. ad Epict.

[k] Evagr. lib. iii. c. 14.

all those, that should add any thing to the creed of Constantinople. And yet for all this, the Church of Rome, in a synod at Gentilly, added the clause of "Filioque," to the article of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and what they have done since, all the world knows, "Exempla non consistunt, sed quamvis in tenuem recepta tramitem, latissimè evagandi sibi faciunt potestatem." All men were persuaded that it was most reasonable the limits of faith should be no more enlarged; but yet they enlarged it themselves, and bound others from doing it, like an intemperate father, who, because he knows he does ill himself, enjoins temperance to his son, but continues to be intemperate himself.

36. But now if I should be questioned concerning the symbol of Athanasius (for we see the Nicene symbol was the father of many more, some twelve or thirteen symbols in the space of a hundred years), I confess I cannot see that moderate sentence and gentleness of charity in his preface and conclusion, as there was in the Nicene creed. Nothing there but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless the article of the Trinity be believed, as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained. Indeed, Athanasius had been soundly vexed on one side, and much cried up on the other: and, therefore, it is not so much wonder for him to be so decretory and severe in his censure; for nothing could more ascertain his friends to him, and disrepute his enemies, than the belief of that damnatory appendix; but that does not justify the thing. For the articles themselves, I am most heartily persuaded of the truth of them, and yet I dare not say all that are not so, are irrevocably damned; because 'citra hoc symbolum,' the faith of the apostles' creed is entire; and 'he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved,' that is, he that believeth such a belief as is sufficient disposition to be baptized, that faith with the sacrament is sufficient for heaven. Now the apostles' creed does one; why, therefore, do not both entitle us to the promise? Besides, if it were considered concerning Athanasius's creed, how many people understand it not, how contrary to natural reason it seems, how little the Scripture[1] says of those

[1] Vide Hosium de Autor. S. Script. lib. iii. p. 53. et Gordon. Huntheum, tom. i. controv. 1. de Verbo Dei, c. 19.

curiosities of explication, and how tradition was not clear on his side for the article itself, much less for those forms and minutes, (how himself is put to make an answer, and excuse for the fathers[m] speaking in excuse of the Arians, at least so seemingly, that the Arians appealed to them for trial, and the offer was declined); and after all this, that the Nicene creed itself went not so far, neither in article, nor anathema, nor explication,—it had not been amiss if the final judgment had been left to Jesus Christ; for he is appointed Judge of all the world, and he shall judge the people righteously; for he knows every truth, the degree of every necessity, and all excuses that do lessen or take away the nature or malice of a crime; all which I think, Athanasius, though a very good man, did not know so well as to warrant such a sentence; and put case the heresy there condemned be damnable (as it is damnable enough), yet a man may maintain an opinion that is in itself damnable, and yet he, not knowing it so, and being invincibly led into it, may go to heaven; his opinion shall burn, and himself be saved. But however, I find no opinion in Scripture called damnable, but what are impious 'in materiâ practicâ,' or directly destructive of the faith, or the body of Christianity; such of which St. Peter speaks: "Bringing in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, these are the false prophets, who, out of covetousness, made merchandise of you through cozening words."[n] Such as these are truly heresies, and such as these are certainly damnable. But because there are no degrees either of truth or falsehood, every true proposition being alike true; that an error is more or less damnable, is not told us in Scripture, but is determined by the man and his manners, by circumstances and accidents; and, therefore, the censure in the preface and end, are arguments of his zeal and strength of his persuasion; but they are extrinsical and accidental to the articles, and might as

[m] Vide Gretser et Tanner in Colloq. Ratisbon. Eusebium fuisse Arianum ait Perron. lib. iii. c. 2. contre le Roi Jacques. Idem ait Origenem negâsse divinitatem Filii et Spir. S. lib. ii. c. 7. de Euchar. contra Duplessis; idem, c. 5. obser. 4. ait, Irenæum talia dixisse, quæ qui hodiè diceret, pro Ariano reputaretur. Vide etiam Fisher in Resp. ad 9. Quest. Jacobi Reg. et Epiphan. in hæres. 69.

[n] 2 Pet. ii. 1.

well have been spared. And, indeed, to me it seems very hard to put uncharitableness into the creed, and so to make it become as an article of faith, though perhaps this very thing was no faith of Athanasius; who, if we may believe Aquinas,[o] made this manifestation of faith, "Non per modum symboli, sed per modum doctrinæ," that is, if I understand him right, 'not with a purpose to impose it upon others, but with confidence to declare his own belief;' and that it was prescribed to others as a creed, was the act of the bishops of Rome; so he said, nay, possibly it was none of his: so said the patriarch of Constantinople, Meletius, about one hundred and thirty years since, in his epistle to John Douza, "Athanasio falsò adscriptum symbolum, cum Pontificum Romanorum appendice illâ adulteratum, luce lucidius contestamur." And it is more than probable that he said true, because this creed was written originally in Latin, which in all reason Athanasius did not, and it was translated into Greek, it being apparent that the Latin copy is but one; but the Greek is various, there being three editions or translations rather, expressed by Genebrard, 'lib. iii. de Trinit.' But in this particular, who list, may better satisfy himself in a disputation 'de Symbolo Athanasii,' printed at Wertzburg, 1590, supposed to be written by Serrarius or Clencherus.

37. And yet I must observe, that this symbol of Athanasius, and that other of Nice, offer not at any new articles; they only pretend to a further explication of the articles apostolical, which is a certain confirmation, that they did not believe more articles to be of belief necessary to salvation; if they intended these further explanations to be as necessary as the dogmatical articles of the apostles' creed, I know not how to answer all that may be objected against that; but the advantage that I shall gather from their not proceeding to new matters, is laid out ready for me in the words of Athanasius, saying of this creed, "This is the catholic faith:" and if his authority be good, or his saying true, or he the author, then no man can say of any other article, that it is a part of the catholic faith, or that the catholic faith can be enlarged beyond the contents of that symbol; and, therefore, it is a strange boldness in the Church

[o] D. Tho. 22. q. 1. artic. 1. ad 3um.

of Rome,[p] first to add twelve new articles, and then to add the appendix of Athanasius to the end of them, "This is the catholic faith, without which no man can be saved."

38. But so great an example of so excellent a man hath been either mistaken or followed with too much greediness,—all the world in factions, all damning one another, each party damned by all the rest; and there is no disagreeing in opinion from any man that is in love with his own opinion, but damnation presently to all that disagree. A ceremony and a rite hath caused several churches to excommunicate each other, as in the matter of the Saturday-fast, and keeping Easter. But what the spirits of men are, when they are exasperated, in a question and difference of religion, as they call it, though the thing itself may be most inconsiderable, is very evident in that request of Pope Innocent III. desiring of the Greeks (but reasonably a man would think) that they would not so much hate the Roman manner of consecrating in unleavened bread, as to wash, and scrape, and pare the altars after a Roman priest had consecrated. Nothing more furious than a mistaken zeal, and the actions of a scrupulous and abused conscience. When men think every thing to be their faith and their religion, commonly they are so busy in trifles and such impertinences in which the scene of their mistake lies, that they neglect the greater things of the law, charity and compliances, and the gentleness of Christian communion; for this is the great principle of mischief, and yet is not more pernicious than unreasonable.

39. For I demand: Can any man say and justify that the apostles did deny communion to any man, that believed the apostles' creed, and lived a good life? And dare any man tax that proceeding of remissness and indifference in religion? And since our blessed Saviour promised salvation 'to him that believeth' (and the apostles when they gave this word the greatest extent, enlarged it not beyond the borders of the creed), how can any man warrant the condemning of any man to the flames of hell, that is ready to die in attestation of this faith, so expounded and made explicit by the apostles, and lives accordingly? And to this purpose it was

[p] Bulla Pii quarti supra forma juramenti professionis fidei, in fin. Con. Trid.

excellently said by a wise and a pious prelate, St. Hilary, "Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat, &c. In absoluto nobis et facili est æternitas; Jesum suscitatum à mortuis per Deum credere, et ipsum esse Dominum confiteri,"[q] &c. Those are the articles which we must believe, which are the sufficient and adequate object of the faith, which is required of us in order to salvation. And, therefore, it was, that when the bishops of Istria deserted the communion of Pope Pelagius, 'in causâ trium capitulorum,'[r] he gives them an account of his faith, by recitation of the creed, and by attesting the four general councils; and is confident upon this, that 'de fidei firmitate nulla poterit esse quæstio, vel suspicio generari;' let the apostles' creed, especially so explicated, be but secured, and all faith is secured; and yet that explication too was less necessary than the articles themselves; for the explication was but accidental, but the articles, even before the explication, were accounted a sufficient inlet to the kingdom of heaven.

40. And that there was security enough in the simple believing the first articles, is very certain amongst them, and by their principles, who allow of an implicit faith to serve most persons to the greatest purposes; for, if the creed did contain in it the whole faith, and that other articles were in it implicitly (for such is the doctrine of the school, and particularly of Aquinas),[s] then he that explicitly believes all the creed, does implicitly believe all the articles contained in it; and then it is better the implication should still continue, than that by any explication, which is simply unnecessary, the Church should be troubled with questions and uncertain determinations, and factions enkindled, and animosities set on foot, and men's souls endangered, who before were secured by the explicit belief of all that the apostles required as necessary; which belief also did secure them from all the rest, because it implied the belief of whatsoever was virtually in the first articles, if such belief should by chance be necessary.

41. The sum of this discourse is this; if we take an estimate of the nature of faith from the dictates and promises

[q] Lib. x. de Trin. ad finem.
[r] Concil. tom. iv. Ed. Paris. p. 473.
[s] 2. 2æ. q. 1a. 10. cap.

evangelical, and from the practice apostolical, the nature of faith and its integrity consist in such propositions which make the foundation of hope and charity, that which is sufficient to make us to do honour to Christ, and to obey him, and to encourage us in both; and this is completed in the apostles' creed. And since contraries are of the same extent, heresy is to be judged by its proportion and analogy to faith; and that is heresy only, which is against faith. Now, because faith is not only a precept of doctrines, but of manners and holy life, whatsoever is either opposite to an article of creed, or teaches ill life, that is heresy; but all those propositions, which are extrinsical to these two considerations, be they true or be they false, make not heresy, nor the man a heretic; and, therefore, however he may be an erring person, yet he is to be used accordingly, pitied and instructed, not condemned or excommunicated; and this is the result of the first ground, the consideration of the nature of faith and heresy.

SECTION III.

Of the Difficulty and Uncertainty of Arguments from Scripture, in Questions not simply necessary, not literally determined.

1. God, who disposes of all things sweetly, and according to the nature and capacity of things and persons, had made those only necessary, which he had taken care should be sufficiently propounded to all persons, of whom he required the explicit belief. And, therefore, all the articles of faith are clearly and plainly set down in Scripture; and the Gospel is not hid 'nisi pereuntibus,' saith St. Paul; Πάσης γὰρ ἀρετῆς παράκλησιν, καὶ κακίας ἀπάσης τροπὴν ἐν ταύταις εὑρίσκομεν, saith Damascen;[a] and that so manifestly that no man can be ignorant of the foundation of faith, without his own apparent fault. And this is acknowledged by all wise and good men, and is evident, besides the reasonableness of the thing, in the testimonies of St. Austin,[b] Jerome,[c] Chrysostom,[d] Ful-

[a] Orthod. Fidei, lib. iv. c. 18. [b] Super Psal. lxxxviii. et de Util. Cred. c. 6.
[c] Super Isa. xix. et in Psal. lxxxvi. [d] Homil. 3. in Thes. ep. 2.

gentius,[e] Hugo de Sancto Victore,[f] Theodoret,[g] Lactantius,[h] Theophilus Antiochenus,[i] Aquinas,[k] and the later schoolmen. And God hath done more; for many things, which are only profitable, are also set down so plainly, that, as St. Austin says, "Nemo inde haurire non possit, si modò ad hauriendum devotè ac piè accedat:"[l] but of such things there is no question commenced in Christendom; and if there were, it cannot but be a crime and human interest, that are the authors of such disputes; and, therefore, these cannot be simple errors, but always heresies, because the principle of them is a personal sin.

2. But besides these things, which are so plainly set down, "some for doctrine," as St. Paul says, that is, for articles and foundation of faith; some for instruction, some for reproof, some for comfort, that is, in matters practical and speculative, of several tempers and constitutions; there are innumerable places, containing in them great mysteries, but yet either so enwrapped with a cloud, or so darkened with umbrages, or heightened with expressions, or so covered with allegories and garments of rhetoric, so profound in the matter, or so altered or made intricate in the manner, in the clothing, and in the dressing, that God may seem to have left them as trials of our industry, and arguments of our imperfections, and incentives to the longings after heaven, and the clearest revelations of eternity, and as occasions and opportunities of our mutual charity and toleration to each other, and humility in ourselves, rather than the repositories of faith, and furniture of creeds, and articles of belief.

3. For wherever the word of God is kept, whether in Scripture alone, or also in tradition, he that considers that the meaning of the one, and the truth or certainty of the other, are things of great question, will see a necessity in these things, which are the subject matter of most of the questions of Christendom, that men should hope to be excused by an implicit faith in God Almighty. For when there are, in the explications of Scripture, so many commentaries, so many senses and interpretations, so many volumes in all ages, and

[e] Serm. de Confess.
[f] Miscel. 2. lib. i. tit. 46.
[g] In Gen. ap. Struch. p. 87.
[h] C. 6. c. 21.
[i] Ad Antioch. lib. ii. p. 918.
[k] Par. 1. q. art.
[l] Ubi suprà de Util. Cred. c. vi.

all, like men's faces, exactly none like another, either this difference and inconvenience is absolutely no fault at all, or, if it be, it is excusable, by a mind prepared to consent in that truth, which God intended. And this I call an implicit faith in God; which is certainly of as great excellence as an implicit faith in any man, or company of men. Because they who do require an implicit faith in the Church, for articles less necessary, and excuse the want of explicit faith by the implicit, do require an implicit faith in the Church, because they believe that God hath required of them to have a mind prepared to believe whatever the Church says; which, because it is a proposition of no absolute certainty, whosoever does, in readiness of mind, believe all that God spake, does also believe that sufficiently, if it be fitting to be believed, that is, if it be true, and if God hath said so; for he hath the same obedience of understanding in this as in the other. But because it is not so certain, that God hath tied him, in all things, to believe that which is called the Church; and that it is certain we must believe God in all things, and yet neither know all that either God hath revealed or the Church taught, it is better to take the certain than the uncertain, to believe God rather than men; especially since, if God hath bound us to believe men, our absolute submission to God does involve that, and there is no inconvenience in the world this way, but that we implicitly believe one article more, viz. the Church's authority or infallibility; which may well be pardoned, because it secures our belief of all the rest; and we are sure if we believe all that God said explicitly or implicitly, we also believe the Church implicitly in case we are bound to it; but we are not certain, that if we believe any company of men whom we call the Church, that we therefore obey God, and believe what he hath said. But, however, if this will not help us, there is no help for us, but good fortune or absolute predestination; for by choice and industry no man can secure himself, that, in all the mysteries of religion taught in Scripture, he shall certainly understand, and explicitly believe, that sense that God intended. For to this purpose there are many considerations.

4. First: There are so many thousands of copies that were written by persons of several interests and persuasions, such different understandings and tempers, such distinct

abilities and weaknesses,—that it is no wonder there is so great variety of readings both in the Old Testament and in the New. In the Old Testament, the Jews pretend that the Christians have corrupted many places, on purpose to make symphony between both the Testaments. On the other side, the Christians have had so much reason to suspect the Jews, that when Aquila had translated the Bible in their schools, and had been taught by them, they rejected the edition, many of them, and some of them called it heresy to follow it. And Justin Martyr justified it to Tryphon, that the Jews had defalked many sayings from the books of the old prophets, and, amongst the rest, he instances in that of the psalm, "Dicite in nationibus, quia Dominus regnavit a ligno." The last words they have cut off, and prevailed so far in it, that, to this day, none of our Bibles have it; but if they ought not to have it, then Justin Martyr's Bible had more in it than it should have, for there it was; so that a fault there was, either under or over. But, however, there are infinite readings in the New Testament (for in that I will instance), some whole verses in one part that are not in another; and there was, in some copies of St. Mark's Gospel, in the last chapter, a whole verse, a chapter it was anciently called, that is not found in our Bibles, as St. Jerome, 'ad Hedibiam, q. 3.,' notes. The words he repeats, 'Contr. Polygamos, lib. ii.' "Et illi satis faciebant dicentes, sæculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est, quæ non sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem, idcirco, jam nunc revela justitiam tuam." These words are thought by some to savour of Manichaism; and, for aught I can find, were therefore rejected out of many Greek copies, and at last out of the Latin. Now, suppose that a Manichee, in disputation, should urge this place, having found it in his Bible, if a catholic should answer him, by saying, it is apocryphal, and not found in divers Greek copies, might not the Manichee ask how it came in, if it was not the word of God,—and if it was, how came it out? and at last take the same liberty of rejecting any other authority which shall be alleged against him; if he can find any copy that may favour him, however that favour be procured; and did not the Ebionites reject all the epistles of St. Paul, upon pretence he

was an enemy to the law of Moses? Indeed it was boldly and most unreasonably done; but if one tittle, or one chapter of St. Mark be called apocryphal, for being suspected of Manichaism, it is a plea that will too much justify others, in their taking and choosing what they list. But I will not urge it so far; but is not there as much reason for the fierce Lutherans to reject the epistle of St. James, for favouring justification by works, or the epistle to the Hebrews, upon pretence that the sixth and tenth chapters do favour Novatianism; especially since it was, by some famous churches, at first not accepted, even by the Church of Rome herself? The parable of the woman taken in adultery, which is now in John, viii., Eusebius says was not in any Gospel, but the Gospel 'secundum Hebræos;' and St. Jerome makes it doubtful; and so does St. Chrysostom and Euthymius, the first not vouchsafing to explicate it in his homilies upon St. John, the other affirming it not to be found in the exacter copies. I shall not need to urge, that there are some words so near in sound, that the Scribes might easily mistake: there is one famous one of Κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες, which yet some copies read καίρῳ δουλεύοντες, the sense is very unlikely, though the words be near, and there needs some little luxation to strain this latter reading to a good sense: that famous precept of St. Paul, that 'the women must pray with a covering on their head' διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους,—'because of the angels,' hath brought into the Church an opinion that angels are present in churches, and are spectators of our devotion and deportment. Such an opinion, if it should meet with peevish opposites on the one side, and confident hyperaspists on the other, might possibly make a sect; and here were a clear ground for the affirmative, and yet who knows but that it might have been a mistake of the transcribers; for if it were read as Gothofrid, and some others, would have it, διὰ τοὺς ἀγέλους, or rather, διὰ τὰς ἀγέλας, or, τοὺς ἀγελαίους, that the sense be, "women, in public assemblies, must wear a veil, by reason of the 'companies of young men' there present," it would be no ill exchange for the little change of some letters in a word, to make so probable, so clear a sense of the place. But the instances in this kind are too many, as appears in the variety of readings in several copies proceeding from the negligence

or ignorance of the transcribers, or the malicious endeavour of heretics,[m] or the inserting marginal notes into the text, or the nearness of several words. Indeed there is so much evidence of this particular, that it hath encouraged the servants of the vulgar translation, for so some are nowadays, to prefer that translation before the original; for although they have attempted that proposition with very ill success, yet that they could think it possible to be proved, is an argument there is much variety and alterations in divers texts; for if there were not, it were impudence to pretend a translation, and that none of the best should be better than the original. But so it is that this variety of reading is not of slight consideration; for although it be demonstrably true, that all things necessary to faith and good manners are preserved from alteration and corruption, because they are of things necessary, and they could not be necessary, unless they were delivered to us, God, in his goodness and his justice, having obliged himself to preserve that which he hath bound us to observe and keep; yet, in other things which God hath not obliged himself so punctually to preserve, in these things, since variety of reading is crept in, every reading takes away a degree of certainty from any proposition derivative from those places so read: and if some copies, especially if they be public and notable, omit a verse or a tittle, every argument from such a tittle or verse loses much of its strength and reputation; and we find it in a great instance. For when, in probation of the mystery of the glorious Unity in Trinity, we allege that saying of St. John, "there are three which bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one," the antitrinitarians think they have answered the argument by saying the Syrian translation, and divers Greek copies, have not that verse in them, and, therefore, being of doubtful authority, cannot conclude with certainty, in a question of faith. And there is an instance on the catholic part. For when the Arians urge the saying of our Saviour, "No man knows that day and hour," viz. of judgment, "no, not the Son, but the Father only,"— to prove that the Son knows not all things, and, therefore,

[m] Græci corruperunt Novum Testamentum, ut testantur Tertul. lib. v. adv. Marcion. Euseb. lib. v. Hist. c. ult. Irenæ. lib. i. c. 29. adv. Hæres. Basil. lib. ii. contr. Eunomium.

cannot be God in the proper sense,—St. Ambrose thinks he hath answered the argument, by saying those words, "no, not the Son," were thrust into the text by the fraud of the Arians. So that here we have one objection, which must first be cleared and made infallible, before we can be ascertained in any such question as to call them heretics that dissent.

5. Secondly, I consider that there are very many senses and designs of expounding Scripture, and when the grammatical sense is found out, we are many times never the nearer; it is not that which was intended; for there is, in very many scriptures, a double sense, a literal and a spiritual (for the Scripture is 'a book written within and without);'[n] and both these senses are subdivided. For the literal sense is either natural or figurative: and the spiritual is sometimes allegorical, sometimes anagogical; nay, sometimes there are divers literal senses in the same sentence, as St. Austin excellently proves in divers places;[o] and it appears, in divers quotations in the New Testament, where the apostles and Divine writers bring the same testimony to divers purposes; and particularly, St. Paul's making that saying of the psalm, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," to be an argument of Christ's resurrection, and a designation or ordination to his pontificate, is an instance very famous in his first and fifth chapters to the Hebrews. But now there being such variety of senses in Scripture, and but few places so marked out, as not to be capable of divers senses, if men will write commentaries, as Herod made orations μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, what infallible χριτήριον will be left, whereby to judge of the certain, dogmatical, resolute sense of such places, which have been the matter of question? For put case a question were commenced concerning the degrees of glory in heaven, as there is in the schools a noted one,—to shew an inequality of reward, Christ's parable is brought of the reward of ten cities, and of five, according to the divers improvement of the talents; this sense is mystical, and yet very probable, and understood by men, for aught I know, to this very sense. And the result of the argument is made

[n] Apoc. v.

[o] Lib. xii. Confess. c. 26. Lib. xi. de Civit. Dei, c. 19. Lib. iii. de Doctrinâ Christ. c. 27.

good by St. Paul, 'as one star differeth from another in glory;' so shall it be in the resurrection of the dead. Now, suppose another should take the same liberty of expounding another parable to a mystical sense and interpretation, as all parables must be expounded, then the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, and though differing in labour, yet having an equal reward, to any man's understanding may seem very strongly to prove the contrary; and, as if it were of purpose, and that it were 'primum intentum' of the parable, the Lord of the vineyard determined the point resolutely upon the mutiny and repining of them that had borne the burden and heat of the day, 'I will give unto this last even as to thee;' which, to my sense, seems to determine the question of degrees; they that work but little, and they that work long, shall not be distinguished in the reward, though accidentally they were in the work: and if this opinion could but answer St. Paul's words, it stands as fair, and perhaps fairer than the other. Now, if we look well upon the words of St. Paul, we shall find he speaks nothing at all of diversity of degrees of glory in beatified bodies, but the differences of glory in bodies heavenly and earthly. "There are," says he, "bodies earthly, and there are heavenly bodies: and one is the glory of the earthly, another the glory of the heavenly; one glory of the sun, another of the moon, &c. So shall it be in the resurrection; for it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption." Plainly thus, our bodies in the resurrection shall differ as much from our bodies here, in the state of corruption, as one star does from another. And now suppose a sect should be commenced upon this question (upon lighter and vainer many have been), either side must resolve to answer the other's argument, whether they can or no, and to deny to each other a liberty of expounding the parable to such a sense, and yet themselves must use it, or want an argument. But men use to be unjust in their own cases; and were it not better to leave each other to their liberty, and seek to preserve their own charity; for when the words are capable of a mystical or a diverse sense, I know not why men's fancies or understandings should be more bound to be like one another than their faces: and either, in all such places of Scripture, a liberty must be indulged to every honest and peaceable wise man, or else all argument from such

places must be wholly declined. Now, although I instanced in a question, which, by good fortune, never came to open defiance, yet there have been sects framed upon lighter grounds, more inconsiderable questions, which have been disputed, on either side, by arguments less material and less pertinent. St. Austin laughed at the Donatists, for bringing that saying of the spouse in the Canticles to prove their schism, "Indica mihi, ubi pascas; ubi cubes in meridie." For from thence they concluded the residence of the Church was only in the south part of the world, only in Africa. It was but a weak way of argument; yet, the fathers were free enough to use such mediums, to prove mysteries of great concernment;[p] but yet again, when they speak either against an adversary, or with consideration, they deny that such mystical senses can sufficiently confirm a question of faith. But I shall instance, in the great question of rebaptization of heretics, which many saints, and martyrs, and confessors, and divers councils, and almost all Asia and Africa, did once believe and practise. Their grounds for the invalidity of the baptism by a heretic, were such mystical words as these, "Oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput meum."[q]—And "Qui baptizatur à mortuo, quid proficit lavatio ejus?"[r]—And "Ab aquâ alienâ abstinete."[s]—And "Deus peccatores non exaudit."[t]—And "he that is not with me, is against me."[u]—I am not sure the other part had arguments so good. For the great one of 'una fides, unum baptisma,' did not conclude it to their understandings who were of the other opinion, and men famous in their generations; for it was no argument that they who had been baptized by John's baptism, should not be baptized in the name of Jesus, because 'unus Deus, unum baptisma;' and as it is still one faith which a man confesseth several times, and one sacrament of the eucharist, though a man often communicates; so it might be one baptism, though often ministered. And the unity of baptism might not be derived from the unity of the ministration, but from the unity of the religion into which they are baptized, though baptized a thousand times; yet, because it was still in the name of the Holy Trinity, still into the death

[p] Hieron. in Matt. xiii. [q] Psalm cxl. [r] Ecclus. xxxiv.
[s] Prov. v. [t] John, ix. [u] Luke, xi.

of Christ, it might be 'unum baptisma.' Whether Sts. Cyprian, Firmilian, and their colleagues, had this discourse, or no, I know not; I am sure they might have had much better to have evacuated the force of that argument, although I believe they had the wrong cause in hand. But this is it that I say, that when a question is so undetermined in Scripture, that the arguments rely only upon such mystical places, whence the best fancies can draw the greatest variety, and such which perhaps were never intended by the Holy Ghost, —it were good the rivers did not swell higher than the fountain, and the confidence higher than the argument and evidence; for, in this case, there could not any thing be so certainly proved, as that the disagreeing party should deserve to be condemned by a sentence of excommunication for disbelieving it; and yet they were; which I wonder at so much the more, because they who, as it was since judged, had the right cause, had not any sufficient argument from Scripture, not so much as such mystical arguments, but did fly to the tradition of the Church: in which also, I shall afterwards shew, they had nothing that was absolutely certain.

3. I consider that there are divers places of Scripture containing in them mysteries and questions of great concernment, and yet the fabric and constitution is such, that there is no certain mark to determine whether the sense of them should be literal or figurative; I speak not here concerning extrinsical means of determination, as traductive interpretations, councils, fathers, popes, and the like; I shall consider them afterwards in their several places: but here the subject matter being concerning Scripture in its own capacity, I say there is nothing in the nature of the thing to determine the sense and meaning, but it must be gotten out as it can; and that therefore it is unreasonable, that what of itself is ambiguous, should be understood in its own prime sense and intention, under the pain of either a sin, or an anathema: I instance, in that famous place from whence hath sprung that question of transubstantiation, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' The words are plain and clear, apt to be understood in the literal sense; and yet this sense is so hard, as it does violence to reason, and, therefore, it is the question, whether or no it be not a figurative speech. But here what shall we have to

determine it? What mean soever we take, and to what sense you will expound it, you shall be put to give an account, why you expound other places of Scripture, in the same case, to quite contrary senses. For if you exponnd it literally, then, besides that it seems to intrench upon the words of our blessed Saviour, 'The words that I speak, they are spirit and they are life,' that is to be spiritually understood (and it is a miserable thing to see what wretched shifts are used to reconcile the literal sense to these words, and yet to distinguish it from the Capernaitical fancy): but, besides this, why are not those other sayings of Christ expounded literally; 'I am a vine,' 'I am the door,' 'I am a rock?' Why do we fly to a figure in those parallel words, 'This is the covenant which I make between me and you?' and yet that covenant was but the sign of the covenant: and why do we fly to a figure, in a precept, as well as in mystery, and a proposition? 'If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off;' and yet we have figures enough to save a limb. If it be said, because reason tells us these are not to be expounded according to the letter; this will be no plea for them who retain the literal exposition of the other instance, against all reason, against all philosophy, against all sense, and against two or three sciences. But if you expound these words figuratively, besides that you are to contest against a world of prejudices, you give yourself the liberty, which if others will use, when either they have a reason or a necessity so to do, they may, perhaps, turn all into allegory, and so may evacuate any precept, and elude any argument. Well, so it is that very wise men have expounded things allegorically,[x] when they should have expounded them literally. So did the famous Origen, who, as St. Jerome reports of him, turned paradise into an allegory, that he took away quite the truth of the story; and not only Adam was turned out of the garden, but the garden itself out of paradise. Others expound things literally, when they should understand them in allegory: so did the ancient Papias understand Christ's millenary reign

[x] Sic Hieron. In adolescentiâ, provocatus ardore et studio Scripturarum, allogoricè interpretatus sum Abdiam prophetam, cujus historiam nesciebam. De Sensu Allegorico S. Script. dixit Basilius; *ὡς κεκομψευμένον μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀπεδιχόμεθα, ἀληθῆ δὲ εἶναι οὐ πάνυ δύσομεν.* Lib. xx. de Civ. Dei, c. 7. præfat. Lib. xix. in Isa. et in c. 36. Ezek.

upon earth,[y] and so depressed the hopes of Christianity, and their desires to the longing and expectation of temporal pleasures and satisfactions: and he was followed by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and, indeed, the whole Church generally, till St. Austin and St. Jerome's time, who, first of any whose works are extant, did reprove the error. If such great spirits be deceived in finding out what kind of senses be to be given to Scriptures, it may well be endured, that we, who sit at their feet, may also tread in the steps of them whose feet could not always tread aright.

7. Fourthly; I consider that there are some places of Scripture that have the self-same expressions, the same preceptive words, the same reason and account, in all appearance; and yet, either must be expounded to quite different senses, or else we must renounce the communion, and the charities of a great part of Christendom. And yet there is absolutely nothing in the thing, or in its circumstances, or in its adjuncts, that can determine it to different purposes. I instance in those great exclusive negatives for the necessity of both sacraments: "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ," &c. "Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis," &c. a 'non introibit in regnum cœlorum,' for both these. Now then, the first is urged for the absolute indispensable necessity of baptism, even in infants, insomuch that infants go to part of hell, if, inculpably, both on their own and their parents' part, they miss of baptism; for that is the doctrine of the Church of Rome, which they learned from St. Austin; and others also do from hence baptize infants, though with a less opinion of its absolute necessity. And yet the same manner of precept, in the same form of words, in the same manner of threatening, by an exclusive negative, shall not enjoin us to communicate infants, though damnation, at least in form of words, be exactly, and 'per omnia,' alike appendant to the neglect of holy baptism, and the venerable eucharist. If 'nisi quis renatus' shall conclude against the anabaptist, for necessity of baptizing infants (as sure enough we say it does), why shall not an equal 'nisi comediritis,' bring infants to the holy communion? The Primitive Church, for some two whole ages, did follow their own principles, wherever they

[y] Apocal. xx.

led them; and seeing that, upon the same ground, equal results must follow, they did communicate infants as soon as they had baptized them. And why the Church of Rome should not do so too, being she expounds 'nisi comederitis,' of oral manducation, I cannot yet learn a reason. And for others, that expound it of a spiritual manducation, why they shall not allow the disagreeing part the same liberty of expounding 'nisi quis renatus,' too, I by no means can understand. And, in these cases, no external determiner can be pretended in answer. For whatsoever is extrinsical to the words, as councils, traditions, church authority, and fathers, either have said nothing at all, or have concluded, by their practice, contrary to the present opinion, as is plain by their communicating infants by virtue of 'nisi comederitis.'

8. Fifthly; I shall not need to urge the mysteriousness of some points in Scripture, which, 'ex natura rei,' are hard to be understood, though very plainly represented. For there are some 'secreta theologiæ,' which are only to be understood by persons very holy and spiritual; which are rather to be felt than discoursed of; and, therefore, if, peradventure, they be offered to public consideration, they will therefore be opposed, because they run the same fortune with many other questions; that is, not to be understood, and so much the rather because their understanding, that is, the feeling, such secrets of the kingdom, are not the results of logic and philosophy, nor yet of public revelation, but of the public spirit privately working; and in no man is a duty, but in all that have it, is a reward,—and is not necessary for all, but given to some; producing its operations, not regularly, but upon occasions, personal necessities, and new emergencies. Of this nature are the spirit of obsignation, belief of particular salvation, special influences, and comforts coming from a sense of the Spirit of adoption, actual fervours, and great complacencies in devotion, spiritual joys,—which are little drawings aside of the curtains of peace and eternity, and antepasts of immortality. But the not understanding the perfect constitution and temper of these mysteries (and it is hard for any man so to understand, as to make others do so too that feel them not), is cause, that, in many questions of secret theology, by being very apt and easy to be mistaken, there is a necessity in forbearing one

another: and this consideration would have been of good use in the question between Soto and Catharinus, both for the preservation of their charity, and explication of the mystery.

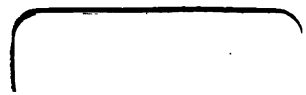
9. Sixthly; But here it will not be unseasonable to consider, that all systems and principles of science are expressed, so that, either by reason of the universality of the terms and subject matter, or the infinite variety of human understandings, and these, peradventure, swayed by interest, or determined by things accidental and extrinsical,—they seem to divers men, nay, to the same men upon divers occasions, to speak things extremely disparate, and sometimes contrary, but very often of great variety. And this very thing happens also in Scripture, that if it were not in 're sacrâ et seriâ,' it were excellent sport to observe how the same place of Scripture serves several turns upon occasion; and they at that time believe the words sound nothing else; whereas in the liberty of their judgment and abstracting from that occasion, their commentaries understand them wholly to a differing sense. It is a wonder of what excellent use to the Church of Rome, is 'tibi dabo claves:' it was spoken to Peter, and none else (sometimes); and, therefore, it concerns him and his successors only; the rest are to derive from him. And yet, if you question them for their sacrament of penance, and priestly absolution, then 'tibi dabo claves' comes in, and that was spoken to St. Peter, and, in him, to the whole college of the apostles, and, in them, to the whole hierarchy. If you question why the pope pretends to free souls from purgatory, 'tibi dabo claves' is his warrant; but if you tell him the keys are only for binding and loosing on earth directly, and in heaven consequently; and that purgatory is a part of hell, or rather neither earth, nor heaven, nor hell, and so the keys seem to have nothing to do with it, then his commission is to be enlarged by a suppletory of reason and consequences, and his keys shall unlock this difficulty, for it is 'clavis scientiæ,' as well as 'autoritatis.' And these keys shall enable him to expound Scriptures infallibly, to determine questions, to preside in councils, to dictate to all the world magisterially, to rule the Church, to dispense with oaths, to abrogate laws: and if his key

of knowledge will not, the key of authority shall, and 'tibi dabo claves' shall answer for all. We have an instance in the single fancy of one man, what rare variety of matter is afforded from those plain words of 'Oravi pro te, Petre;'[z] for that place (says Bellarmine)[a] is otherwise to be understood of Peter, otherwise of the popes, and otherwise of the Church of Rome: and 'pro te' signifies, that Christ prayed that Peter might neither err personally nor judicially; and that Peter's successors, if they did err personally, might not err judicially; and that the Roman Church might not err personally. All this variety of sense is pretended by the fancy of one man, to be in a few words, which are as plain and simple as are any words in Scripture. And what then in those thousands that are intricate? So is done with 'pasce oves,' which a man would think were a commission as innocent and guiltless of designs, as the sheep in the folds are. But if it be asked, why the bishop of Rome calls himself universal bishop? 'Pasce oves' is his warrant.—Why he pretends to a power of deposing princes? 'Pasce oves,' said Christ to Peter, the second time.—If it be demanded why also he pretends to a power of authorising his subjects to kill him? 'Pasce agnos,' said Christ, the third time:—and 'pasce' is 'doce,' and 'pasce' is 'impera,' and 'pasce' is 'occide.' Now if others should take the same—unreasonableness I will not say, but the same—liberty, in expounding Scripture; or if it be not license taken, but that the Scripture itself is so full and redundant in senses quite contrary, what man soever, or what company of men soever, shall use this principle, will certainly find such rare productions from several places, that either the unreasonableness of the thing will discover the error of the proceeding, or else there will be a necessity of permitting a great liberty of judgment, where is so infinite variety, without limit or mark of necessary determination. If the first, then, because an error is so obvious and ready to ourselves, it will be great imprudence or tyranny to be hasty in judging others; but if the latter, it is it that I contend for: for it is most unreasonable, when either the thing itself ministers

[z] Luke, xxii.

[a] Bellar. lib. v. de Pontif. cap. 3. Sect. Respondeo primò.

variety, or that we take license to ourselves in variety of interpretations, or proclaim to all the world our great weakness, by our actually being deceived, that we should either prescribe to others magisterially, when we are in error, or limit their understandings, when the thing itself affords liberty and variety.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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